



Maria Antoinette

Author's



Maria Antoinette

Author's note

The HISTORY of  
MARIA ANTOINETTE,

late Queen of France.

Containing a great Variety of

Curious original Anecdotes,

Private Intrigues &c. &c. never before publish'd.

Also

an Account of the principal Characters,  
belonging to the Court of LOUIS the XVI,  
with THE TRIAL at LARGE, and  
particular account of her Execution.

Translated from the French of  
Rabaut de St. Etienne, and others,

By J.C. BRUNARD.



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THE  
*TRIAL AT LARGE*  
OF  
MARIE ANTOINETTE,  
Late Queen of France,  
ON TUESDAY, OCTOBER 15, 1793,  
BEFORE THE  
*REVOLUTIONARY TRIBUNAL AT PARIS,*

ON A  
*Charge of having been accessory to, and having co-operated in, divers Manœuvres against the Liberties of France—entertained a Correspondence with the Enemies of the Republic—and participated in a Plot tending to kindle War in the Interior of the Republic by arming Citizens against each other.*

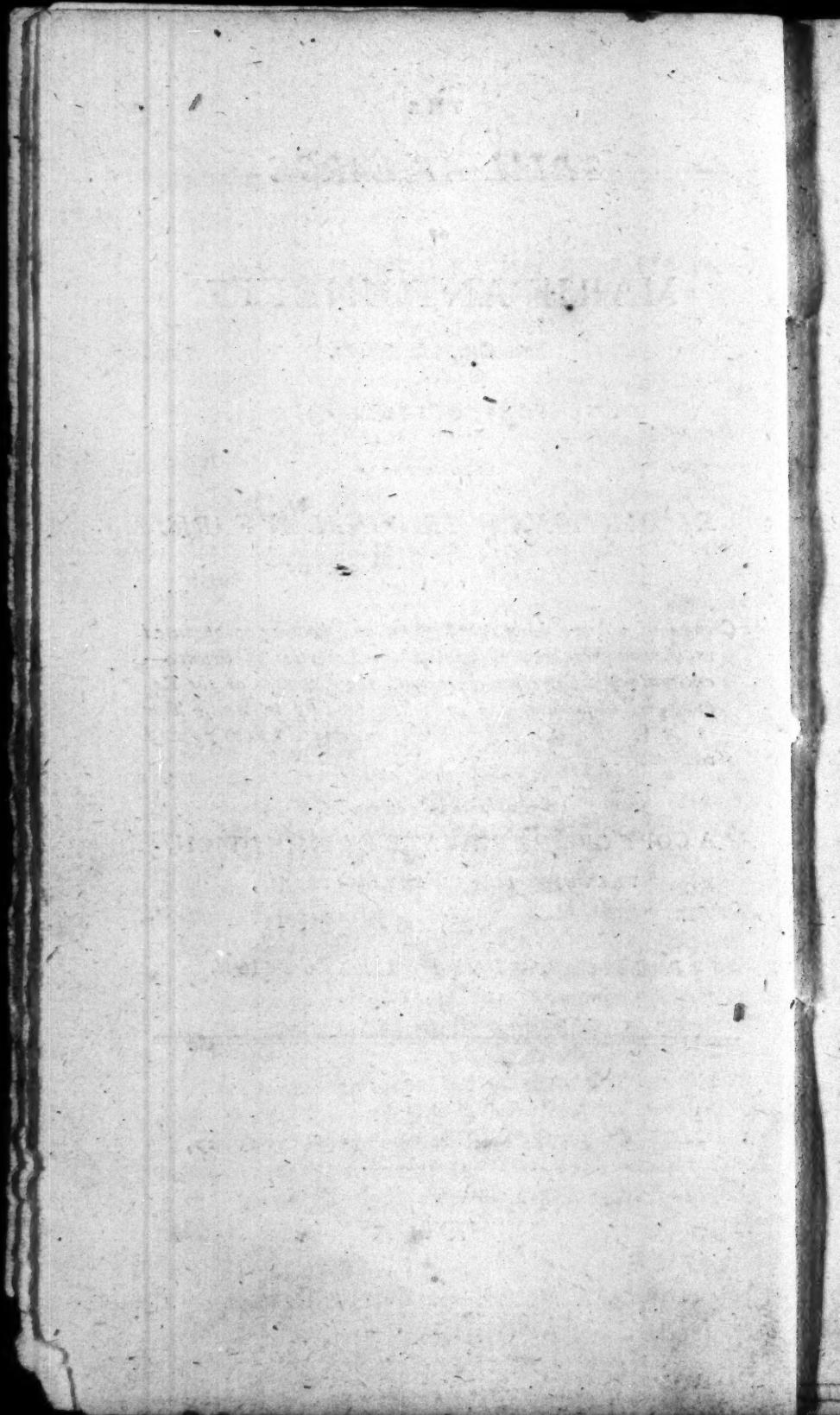
TO WHICH ARE PREFIXED,  
*A COPY OF HER PRIVATE EXAMINATION,*  
PREVIOUS TO HER PUBLIC TRIAL;  
WITH THE  
*PARTICULARS OF HER EXECUTION.*

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LONDON:  
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LUDGATE-STREET.

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1794.



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## PRIVATE INTERROGATORIES

MADE TO

MARIE ANTOINETTE,

BEFORE

*One of the Judges of the Revolutionary Tribunal,*

PREVIOUS TO HER TRIAL.

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WE Amant-Martial Joseph Hamart, President of the Revolutionary Tribunal, established by the law of March 10, 1793, without the jurisdiction of the Tribunal of Cashiering; invested by powers delegated to the tribunal by the law of April 5th, of the year before-mentioned; assisted by Nicholas Joseph Fabricius, Clerk of the Tribunal, in the presence of Anthony Quentin Fouquier, Public Accuser; ordered to be brought before us, from the prison of the Conciergerie, Marie Antoinette, widow of Capet, whom we asked her names, age, profession, country, and place of abode.—She answered, that her name was Marie Antoinette, of Lorraine and Austria, 38 years of age, widow of the late King of France, and born at Vienna.

Which was the place of her abode the moment of her arrest?—That she had not been arrested; but that they came to take her in the National Assembly, and conducted her to the Temple.

B 2

Had

Had you, previous to the Revolution, any political connections with the King of Bohemia and Hungary; and were not those connections contrary to the interests of France, which loaded you with benefits?—That the King of Bohemia and Hungary was her brother; that the connections she had with him were only those of consanguinity, but not of a political nature; those connections could only be to the advantage of France, to which she was attached by the family into which she married.

It was remarked to her, that, not contented with dilapidating in a shocking manner the finances of France, the fruits of the sweat of the people, for the sake of her pleasures and intrigues, in concert with infamous ministers, she had sent to the Emperor thousands of millions, to serve against the nation which fostered her.—Never; that she knows that this mean has frequently been made subservient against her; that she loved her husband too much to dilapidate the money of his country; that her brother did not want money from France; and that, from the same principles which attached her to this country, she would not have given him any.

Observed, that, since the revolution, she has not ceased an instant to carry on manœuvres with the foreign powers, and within this country, against liberty, even at a period when we only had the image of that liberty which the French nation absolutely wishes for.—That, since the revolution, she has borne all foreign correspondence; that she never meddled in domestic concerns.

Whether she did not employ some secret agent to correspond with the foreign powers, chiefly with her brothers; and if De Lessart was not the principal agent?—Never in her life.

Observed, that her answer does not appear exact to us; for it is notorious that there existed in the *cidevant* palace of the Thuilleries, secret and nocturnal petty

petty councils, over which she herself presided, and in which were discussed, deliberated upon, and resolved, the answers to be made to the foreign powers, and those to the successive constituent and legislative assemblies.—That the preceding answer is very exact; for the rumour of those committees has constantly existed whenever it was intended to amuse and deceive the people; that she never knew such a committee; that it has not existed.

Observed, that it appears, however, that when there was a question to know if Louis Capet should sanction or affix his *veto* to the decree issued in the course of November 1791, concerning his brothers, the emigrants, and the refractory and fanatical priests, she, in despite of the most urgent representation of Duranton, then minister of justice, had brought Louis Capet to the determination of not affixing his *veto* to those decrees, the sanction of which would have prevented the ills which France has since suffered, and which evidently proves that she assisted at the councils and petty councils.—That in the month of November, Duranton was not minister; that, in other respects, her spouse did not require to be urged to do that which he believed to be his duty; that she was not of the council, and that only there affairs of that description were transacted and decided.

Observed, that it was she who taught Louis Capet that art of profound dissimulation by which he had too long deceived the kind French nation, who did not suppose that perfidy and villany could be carried to such a degree.—Yes, the people have been deceived, cruelly deceived! but it was neither by her nor her husband.

By whom, then, has the people been deceived?—By those who felt it their interest; that it had never been theirs to deceive them.

Observed, that she did not answer directly the

question?—That she would answer it directly if she knew the names of the persons.

Observed, that she was the principal instigatrix to the treason of Louis Capet; that it was by her advice, and perhaps by her importunities and teasing, that he resolved to fly France, to put himself at the head of the furious men who wished to tear his country?—That her husband did not wish to quit France; that she followed him on his journey; that she would have followed him every-where; but that if she had known that he wanted to quit his country, she would have employed all possible means to dissuade him; but that he had no such intention.

What, then, was the proposed end of the journey known by the name of *Varennes*?—To procure himself that liberty which he could not enjoy here in the eyes of any person; and to conciliate thence all parties for the happiness and tranquillity of France.

Why did you travel at that period by the borrowed name of a Russian baroness?—Because we could not get out of Paris without changing name.

If, amongst other persons who favoured her escape, La Fayette, Bailly, and Renard the architect, were not of the number?—That the two former would have been the last they would have employed; that the third person was then under their orders, but that they never employed him for that purpose.

Represented, that her answer was contradictory to declarations of the persons who fled with her; and it resulted from them, that the carriage of La Fayette, at the moment when all the fugitives came down stairs through the apartment of a woman in her service, was in one of the court-yards; and that La Fayette and Bailly were upon the watch, while Renard directed their route?—That she does not know what declarations might have been made by the persons who were with her; that all she knows is, that she met, in the Square of Carouzel, the carriage

riage of La Fayette; but that she went on her way, and was far from stopping it; that, with regard to Renard, she could assure us that he did not direct the march; that she alone opened the door and made every body go out.

Observed, that from this confession of her having opened the door, and let out every body, there remains no doubt that she directed Louis Capet in all his actions, and made him resolve to fly?—That she did not believe that the opening of a door could prove that a person directs the actions of another; that her spouse desiring and thinking himself obliged to go out thence with his children, it was her duty to give her assent; and that she was to do every thing to render his going out safe.

Observed, that she never concealed for a moment her desire of destroying liberty; that she wanted to reign at any rate, and re-ascend the throne upon the corpses of the patriots?—That they did not want to re-ascend the throne: that they were upon it; that they never had any other desire but the happiness of France. Be it happy; be it but happy! they would always be contented!

Represented, that if such had been her sentiments, she would have used her influence over the mind of her brother, to induce him to break the treaty of Pilnitz, concluded between him and William—a treaty, the sole end of which has been, and is, to associate with all the powers to annihilate that liberty which the French shall have in despite of that coalition and those treasons?—That she only knew that treaty after it had been concluded; that it had long been of no effect; that it ought to be observed, that the foreign powers were not the first aggressors of France.

Represented, that it is true that the foreign powers had not declared war; but that she ought not to be ignorant, that this declaration of war has only been occasioned by a liberticide faction, the authors of which

which will soon receive the just punishment which they deserve?—That she does not know who we meant to speak of; but that she knows that the Legislative Assembly had reiterated the demand of the declaration of war, and that her husband consented to it, with the unanimous advice of the members of his council.

You have held a correspondence with the *ci-devant* French princes since their quitting France, and with the emigrants; you have conspired with them against the safety of the state?—She never held any correspondence with any Frenchmen abroad; that with respect to her brothers, she might possibly have written them one or two insignificant letters; but she does not believe she has; and recollects having often refused to do so.

Does she recollect to have said, on the 4th of October, 1789, that she was enchanted with the day of the first of that month, a day remarkable for the orgies of the Gardes-du-corps, and the regiment of Flanders, who, in a moment of inebriety, expressed their attachment to the throne, and their aversion for the people, trod the national cockade under foot, and put on the white cockade?—She does not recollect saying any such thing; but that it is possible she may have said, that she was touched with the first sentiment that animated this festival; that as to the rest of the question, drunkennes was not necessary to make the Gardes-du-corps testify attachment and devotion to persons in whose service they were. With respect to the affair of the cockade, if it existed, it could only be the error of a few, who now disapprove it; but that it was impossible that persons so attached, should tread under foot, and wish to change an emblem, which the king himself then wore.

What interest did she take in the success of the armies of the republic?—The happiness of France is what she desires above all things.

Do you think that king are necessary to the happiness

pines of the people?—An individual could not positively decide such a matter.

You regret, without doubt, that your son has lost a throne which he might have ascended, if the people, at length enlightened upon their true rights, had not themselves crushed that throne?—She shall never regret any thing for her son, so long as her country is happy.

What is your opinion of the 10th of August, when the Swiss, by order of the master of the castle in the Tuilleries, dared to fire upon the people?—She was not in the castle when they began to fire; she only knows that no order was ever given to fire.

Have you not, during your residence in the Temple, been exactly informed of political affairs, and have you not kept up a correspondence with the enemies of the republic, by means of some municipal officers who were in your service, or by some person introduced by them into your habitation?—During the fourteen months she has been confined, she has had neither news nor knowledge of any political affairs, which it was impossible for her to receive; that since the beginning of October, pen, paper, and pencil, had been taken from her; that she had never addressed any municipal officer, which there is reason to believe would have been ineffectual; and that she has seen none others than them.

Your answer is contradictory to the declarations made by the persons who dwelt in the same place?—Not many persons lived in the Temple, and those who declare any thing of the kind, dare not prove it.

Whilst she was at the Conciergerie, were not several persons introduced into her apartment? Did not one of them drop a carnation, in which was a writing? and was it not she who took up this carnation, after repeated signs had been made to her by the same person?—Different persons entered her chamber, but with the administrators of the police; she did not know them at all; there was one whom she

she thought she recollects ; it is true a carnation was dropped, as she had before declared, but she paid so little attention to the circumstance, that but for the signs, she should not have taken it up ; and that she did so, fearing only that the person who threw it down might be exposed if it were found.

Did you not recollect this person as having been at the castle of the Thuilleries on the 20th of June ; and as having been one of those who remained with you on that day ?—Yes.

Did you not recollect this same person to have been at the Thuilleries on the 10th of August ?—No.

Do you know her name ?—No. She does not recollect having ever known it.

Observe ; it is strange that you should not know her name, for the person said, that you had rendered her great services, which is seldom the case without knowing the person who is the object, in a manner more or less particular ?—It is possible that those who have rendered services may forget them ; and that those who have received them may recollect them.

Has she replied to the billet found in the carnation ?—She endeavoured with a pin ; not with a view to answer her, but to engage her not to come there, in case she should again present herself.

Does she recollect the answer ?—Yes.

Has she produced the billet intended for a reply and pricked with a pin ?—She has acknowledged it.

Did she make a particular motion at the time when this person presented herself ?—Not having seen any known face for thirteen months, she was a little startled at first from the idea of danger incurred by coming into her chamber ; afterwards she thought she might be employed somewhere ; and then was easy.

What do you mean by the two last expressions ?—As several people whom she did not know came to her with the administrators, she thought that this person might be employed in some place at the sections

or

or elsewhere; and in that case did not run any danger.

Did the administrators of the police often bring people with them?—They were almost always accompanied by one, two, or three unknown persons.

Who were the administrators that came most frequently?—Michonis, Michel, Jobert, and Marino.

Did these four administrators always bring persons unknown to you?—She believed so, but does not recollect.

Has she any thing to add upon these different answers; has she a counsel?—No; because she knows not any one.

Does she wish us to name her one or two counsellors?—She does.

After which two advocates belonging to the office were named; they are the citizens Fronson de Coudray and Chaveau De la Gards.

The present interrogatory having been read to her, she declared that it contained the truth; that she had nothing to add or to retract; that she persisted in what she had said, and has signed with us, the said public accuser and register.

Signed, *Marie Antoinette,*  
*Herman,*  
*Fouquier, and*  
*J. N. Fabricius.*

## TRIAL, &c.

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OCTOBER 14.

BEING interrogated as to her names, surnames, age, qualities, place of birth and abode, answered, That her name is Marie Antoinette Lorraine, of Austria, aged about thirty-eight years, widow of the King of France, born at Vienna, finding herself at the time of her arrest in the place of the sitting of the National Assembly.

The Greffier read the act of accusation, as follows:

Antoine Quentin Fouquier, public accuser of the Criminal Revolutionary Tribunal, established at Paris, by a decree of the National Convention of the 10th of March 1793, second year of the Republic; without any recourse to the Tribunal of Cessation, in virtue of the power given him by the eleventh article of another decree of the Convention of April 5, following; stating, that the public accuser of the said tribunal is authorized to arrest, pursue, and judge upon the denunciation of the constituted authorities or of the citizens, states:—

That, by a decree of the Convention, of the 1st of August last, Marie Antoinette, widow of Louis Capet, has been brought before the Revolutionary Tribunal, as accused of conspiring against France; that by another decree of the Convention of Oct. 3, it has been decreed, that the Revolutionary Tribunal should occupy itself without delay, and without interruption, on the trial:—that the public accuser received the papers concerning the widow Capet, on the 19th and 20th of the first month of the second decade, commonly called the 11th and 12th of October of the present month;—that one of the judges of the tribunal immediately proceeded to the interrogatories

terrogatories of the widow Capet; that at an examination being made of all the pieces transmitted by the public accuser, it appears that, like Messaline, Brunehaut, Fredigonde, and Medicis, who were formerly distinguished by the titles of queens of France, whose names have ever been odious, and will never be effaced from the page of history—Marie Antoinette, widow of Louis Capet, has, since her abode in France, been the scourge and the blood-fucker of the French; that even before the happy revolution which gave the French people their sovereignty, she had political correspondence with a man called the King of Bohemia and Hungary; that this correspondence was contrary to the interests of France; that, not content with acting in concert with the brothers of Louis Capet, and the infamous and execrable Calonne, at that time minister of the finances, and squandering the finances of France (the fruit of the sweat of the people) in a dreadful manner, to satisfy inordinate pleasures, and to pay the agents of her criminal intrigues; it is notorious that she has at different times transmitted millions to the emperor, which served him, and still supports him to sustain a war against the republic; and that it is by such excessive plunder that she has at length exhausted the national treasury.

That since the revolution, the widow Capet has not for a moment withheld criminal intelligence and correspondence with foreign powers, and in the interior of the republic, by agents devoted to her, whom she subsidized and caused to be paid out of the treasury of the *ci-devant* civil list; that at various epochs she has employed every manœuvre that she thought consistent with her perfidious views to bring about a counter-revolution; first, having under pretext of a necessary re-union between the *ci-devant* gardes-du-corps, and the officers and soldiers of the regiment of Flanders, contrived a repast between

these two corps, on the 1st of October 1789, which degenerated into an absolute orgie as she desired, and during the course of which the agents of the widow Capet perfectly seconded her counter-revolutionary projects; brought the greater part of the guests, in the moment of inebriety, to sing songs expressive of their most entire devotion to the throne, and the most marked aversion for the people; of having excited them insensibly to wear the white cockade, and to tread the national cockade under foot; and of having authorised, by her presence, all the counter-revolutionary excesses, particularly in encouraging the women who accompanied her, to distribute these white cockades among the guests; and having, on the 4th of the same month, testified the most immoderate joy at what passed during these orgies.

Secondly—Having, in concert with Louis Capet, directed to be distributed very plentifully throughout the kingdom, publications of a counter-revolutionary nature, some of which were pretended to have been published by the conspirators on the other side of the Rhine [meaning we suppose at Coblenz], such as—Petitions to the Emigrants—Reply of the Emigrants—the Emigrants to the People—the shortest Follies are the best—the Order of March—the Return of the Emigrants, and other such writings;—of having even carried her perfidy and dissimulation to such a height, as to have circulated writings in which she herself is described in very unfavourable colours, in order to cloak the imposture; thereby to make it be believed by foreign powers that she was extremely ill treated by Frenchmen, to instigate them to go to war with France.

That in order to carry on her counter-revolutionary designs with more efficacy, she, by means of agents, caused in Paris, towards the beginning of October 1789, a famine, which occasioned a new insurrection, in consequence of which an innumerable crowd of citizens of both sexes set out for Versailles,

failles, on the 5th of the said month; that this fact is proved beyond all contradiction, as the next day there was a plenty of every thing, even after the time the widow Capet arrived with her family in Paris.

That being scarcely arrived in Paris, the widow Capet, fertile in intrigues of every kind, formed committees, consisting of all the counter-revolutionists and intriguers of the Constituent and Legislative Assemblies, which held their meetings in the dead of night; that plots were there formed, how to destroy the rights of man, and the decrees already passed, which were to form the basis of the new constitution; that it was at these committees, or meetings, that the necessary measures were deliberated to obtain a revision of those decrees which were favourable to the people.

That the flight of Louis Capet, his widow, and his whole family, was impeded, as they travelled under fictitious names, in the month of June 1791; that the widow Capet confesses in her interrogatory, that it was she who opened and locked the door of the apartment through which the fugitives passed; that, independent of the confession of the widow Capet in this respect, it is confirmed, by the testimony of Louis Charles Capet, and by his sister, that De la Fayette favoured all the designs of the widow Capet, in the same manner as Bailly did while he was mayor of Paris, and that both were present when the fugitives escaped, and favoured their flight as much as lay in their power.

That the widow Capet, after her return from Varennes, recommenced her intriguing *coteries*, at which she herself presided; and that, aided by her favourite La Fayette, the gates of the Tuilleries were kept locked, which deprived the citizens of the power of passing backwards and forwards in the courts of the Tuilleries; that those only who had cards were permitted to pass.

That this order was given out by La Fayette as a measure of punishment to the fugitives; though it served only as a trick to prevent the citizens from knowing what passed at these midnight orgies, and from discovering the plots against liberty carried on in this infamous abode.

That it was at these meetings, that the horrible massacre, which took place on the 17th of July 1791, was planned, when so many zealous patriots were killed in the Champ de Mars.

That the massacre which had previously taken place at Nancy, as well as those which have since happened in different parts of the republic, were ordered and determined on in these secret councils.

That these insurrections, in which the blood of such an immense number of patriots has been spilt, were plotted in order the more expeditiously and securely to obtain a revision of the decrees passed and founded on the rights of man, which were so obnoxious to the ambition and counter-revolutionary views of Louis Capet and Marie Antoinette.

That the constitution of 1791 being once accepted, the widow Capet took every means in her power to destroy its energy by means of her manœuvres; that she employed agents in different parts of the republic to effect this object of annihilating liberty, and to make the French once more to fall beneath the tyrannic yoke under which they had languished for so many years; that for this purpose, the widow Capet ordered it to be discussed in these midnight meetings, which were truly called the Austrian cabinet, how far it might be possible to counteract the laws passed in the Legislative Assembly.

That it was in consequence of these councils and her advice, that Louis Capet was persuaded to oppose his *veto* to the famous and salutary decrees passed in the Legislative Assembly against the *ci-devant* princes, brothers of Louis Capet—against the emigrants

grants—and against the horde of refractory and fanatical priests who were spread all through France;—a *veto* which has proved one of the principal causes of the evils which France has since experienced.

That it is the widow Capet who caused perverse ministers to be nominated, and placed her creatures in the armies and public offices, men who were known by the whole nation to be conspirators against liberty; that it was by her manœuvres and those of her agents, as able as they were perfidious, that she got a new guard formed for Louis Capet, composed of ancient officers who had quitted their corps, and had refused to take the constitutional oath; that she gave appointments to refractory priests and strangers; and in short, to all those who were disliked by the nation, and who were worthy of serving in the army of Coblenz, whither many of them fled after being cashiered.

That it was the widow Capet, who, in conjunction with a scandalous faction, at that time domineered over the Legislative Assembly, and for some time over the Convention; who declared war against the King of Hungary and Bohemia, her own brother: that it was through her manœuvres and intrigues, at all times pernicious to France, that the French were obliged to make their first retreat from Flanders.

That it is the widow Capet who forwarded to the foreign courts, the plans of the campaign, and the attacks which were agreed upon in the council; so that, by means of this double treason, the enemies of France were always informed before-hand of the movements of the armies of the republic; from whence it follows, that the widow Capet is the authoress of all those reverses of fortune, which the armies of the republic have experienced at different times.

That the widow Capet combined and plotted with her perfidious agents, the horrible conspiracy which broke out on the day of the 10th of August; which

failed only through the courageous and incredible efforts of the patriots; that to this end, she seduced into her dwelling of the Thuilleries, and even into the subterraneous passages under it, Swiss soldiers, who, at the expiration of a decree then passed, were no longer to belong to the body-guards of Louis Capet.

That the widow of Capet kept them in a state of drunkenness, from the 9th to the 10th in the morning, the day appointed for the execution of this horrible conspiracy; that for the same purpose she had re-united on the 9th a body of those beings known by the name of the Knights of the Dagger, who had figured away with the same infamous designs, and in the same place, on the 28th of February 1791, and again on the 21st of June 1792.

That the widow Capet, fearing no doubt that this conspiracy might not have the promised effect, went on the evening of the 9th of August, at half after nine, into the room where the Swiss, and others in her interest, were busy making cartridges; that in order to excite them the more, she took up the cartridges and bit them.

That the next day, the 10th of August, she pressed and solicited Louis Capet to go to the Thuilleries at five in the morning, to review the real Swiss guards, and those who had assumed their uniform; and at his return she presented him with a pistol, saying, *This is the moment to show yourself;* and on his refusing, she called him a coward.

That notwithstanding the widow Capet denies having given any orders to fire on the people, her conduct on the 9th—her deeds in the room of the Swiss guards—the councils she held all the night long—the article of the pistol, and her words to Louis Capet—their sudden retreat from the Thuilleries, and the firing on the people at that very moment he and she entered the room of the Legislative Assembly—in one word, all the circumstances united, leave

leave no doubt but that in her councils during the night, it was resolved that the people must be fired at; and that Louis Capet and Marie Antoinette, the female director of that conspiracy, should themselves give the orders to fire.

That to the perfidious intrigues and manœuvres of the widow Capet, in confederacy with that infamous faction of which we have just spoken, and with all the enemies of the republic, France is indebted for the internal war which has distressed her so long; but the end of which is fortunately not much more distant than that of its authors.

That at all times, the widow Capet, by the influence she had acquired over Louis Capet, insinuated into him that perfidious and dangerous art of dissimulation, to promise by public acts the very contrary he intended to perform; and that they both in their midnight councils plotted the ruin of that liberty, so dear to Frenchmen (and which they will take care to preserve) and to recover the plenitude of the royal prerogatives.

That finally, the widow Capet, in every respect immoral, and a *new Agrippina*, is so dissolute and so familiar with all crimes, that, forgetting her quality of mother, and the limits prescribed by the law of nature, she has not hesitated to prostitute herself with Louis Charles Capet, her son; and according to the confession of the latter, she has committed indecencies with him, the very idea and name of which strikes the soul with horror.

According to this report, the Public Accuser brings the above accusations against Marie Antoinette, qualifying herself in her interrogatory by the title of *Lorraine and Austria*, widow of Louis Capet; and states,

1st. That, in conjunction with the brothers of Louis Capet, and the infamous ex-minister Calonne, she squandered away in the most horrid manner the French

French finances, sent innumerable sums to the Emperor, and drained the national treasury.

2d. That as well by herself as by the aid of her counter-revolutionary agents, she kept up a correspondence with the enemies of the republic, and informed these enemies, or caused them to be informed, of all the plans of campaigns and attacks resolved on and determined in the council.

3d. That through her intrigues and manœuvres, and those of her agents, she formed conspiracies and plots against the interior and exterior safety of France; and to that effect kindled a civil war in divers provinces of the republic; armed one citizen against another, and by these means spilled the blood of an incalculable number of citizens, contrary to the sixth article of the first section of the penal code, and to the second article of the second section of the same code.

In consequence of all which charges, the Public Accuser requests that an act of the present accusation be given him by the Tribunal; that it be ordained, that on his requisition, and through the channel of a serjeant at arms, Marie Antoinette, qualifying herself by the title of *Lorraine and Austria*, widow of Louis Capet, actually confined in the prison called the Conciergerie of the Palace, be entered on the registers of the said prison, there to remain in the same as in a house of justice; and that the sentence to be given shall be notified to the municipality of Paris and to the accused.

Done in the Chamber of the Public Accuser,  
the first day of the third decade of the first  
month of the second year of the French  
republic, one and indivisible.

(Signed) *Antoine Quentin Fouquier.*

The Tribunal, in compliance with the request of the Public Accuser, grants him an act of the accusation by him made against Marie Antoinette, called of *Lorraine and Austria*, widow of Louis Capet; and

and orders that, agreeable to the said request, and through the means of a serjeant at arms, bearer of this ordonnance, Marie Antoinette, widow of Louis Capet, shall be bodily arrested, and entered on the registers of the prison called the Conciergerie, where she is actually detained, there to remain, the same as in a house of justice; and that the present ordonnance be notified to the municipality of Paris, and to the accused.

Done and judged at the Tribunal, the 2d day of the 3d decade of the first month of the 2d year of the republic, by the citizens, all judges of the Tribunal.

*Amant Martial Joseph Hamart,  
Etienne Foucault,  
Gabriel Toussaint Sechellier,  
Pierre Andre Coffinhall,  
Gabriel de Liege,  
Pierre Louis Ragmy,  
Antoine Marie Maire,  
Francois Joseph Denizot,  
Etienne Macon.*

The President said to the Queen, after the act of accusation had been read, "This is what you are accused of: Lend an attentive ear; you are going to hear the charges laid against you."

He then proceeded to the examination of the witnesses.

*Laurent Lecointre*, Deputy to the National Convention, deposed against the accused, for having formerly been the wife of the ci-devant King of France; and for being the person who, at the time of her removal to the Temple, had charged him with a memorial to the Convention, in order to gain over 12 or 14 persons, whom she mentioned, to what she called her service. The Convention, on that occasion, passed to the order of the day, upon the ground that he should address himself to the municipality.

The

The deponent then entered upon the detail of the festivals and orgies which took place at Versailles, from the year 1789; the result of which had been, a dreadful dilapidation in the finances of France. The witness gave a detail of what preceded and followed the assemblies of the Notables, till the epocha of the opening of the States-General; the state of the generous inhabitants of Versailles; their grievous perplexities on the 23d of June 1789, when the artillery-men of Nassau, whose artillery was placed in the stables belonging to the accused, refused to fire upon the people.

At length, the Parisians having shaken off the yoke of tyranny, this revolutionary movement re-animated the energy of their brethren at Versailles. They formed the very hardy and courageous project of freeing themselves from the oppression of the despot, or of his agents.

On the 28th of July, the citizens of Versailles formed a wish to organize themselves into National Guards, like their brethren of Paris. They nevertheless proposed to consult the King; the negotiator was the ci-devant Prince de Poix. Endeavours were made to prolong the matter; but the organization having been made, the staff was appointed; D'Easting was named commandant general, and Gouvernet second in command.

The witness here entered into the detail of the facts which preceded and followed the arrival of the regiment of Flanders. The accused, on the 24th of September, sent for some officers of the National Guard, and made them a present of two colours; a third remained, which they were told was destined for a battalion of pretended guards, paid for the avowed purpose, as it was declared, of relieving the inhabitants of Versailles, who were thus cajoled; at the same time that it was affected to pity them, they in reality were abhorred.

On the 29th of September 1789, the National Guard

Guard gave a repast to its brave brethren, the soldiers of the regiment of Flanders. The public journals gave an account at the time, that, at the request of the citizens, nothing passed contrary to the principles of liberty; but that the feast given October the 1<sup>st</sup>, by the *gardes-du-corps*, had no other aim than to provoke the National Guard against the ci-devant soldiers of Flanders, and the *chasseurs des trois Evêchés*.

The witness observed, that the accused appeared at this latter part with her husband; that they were loudly applauded there; that the air *O, Richard! O, my King!* was played; that the health of the King and Queen was drank, as well as that of her son; but that the health of the nation, which had been proposed, was rejected.

After this orgie, they removed themselves to the castle of the ci-devant court, called *Marble*; and there, in order to give the King a just idea of the manner in which they were disposed to defend the interests of his family, if occasion required it, a person named Perceval, Aide-de-Camp to D'Estaing, mounted first; after him, a grenadier of the regiment of Flanders; a third dragoon having also attempted to scale the said balcony, and not being able to succeed, would have destroyed it. With respect to the said Perceval, he took the cross with which he was decorated, in order to give it to a grenadier, who, like him, had scaled the balcony of the ci-devant King.

[Upon the request of the Public Accuser, the Tribunal ordered, that a mandate should be issued to bring forth Perceval and D'Estaing.]

The witness added, that on the 3<sup>d</sup> of the same month of October, the *gardes-du-corps* gave a second repast. It was there that the most violent outrages were committed upon the national cockade, which was trodden under foot.

The deponent here detailed what happened at Versailles

Versailles on the 5th and 6th of October. He observed, that on the day of the 6th of October, D'Estaing being informed of the movements which were making in Paris, went to the municipality of Versailles, in order to obtain permission to carry away the ci-devant King, who was then hunting, and who was entirely ignorant of what was passing; with a promise to bring him back when tranquillity should be restored. The witness deposited upon the desk the pieces relative to the facts contained in his declaration, which were added to the process.

*Prefident to the Queen.* Have you any observations to make upon the witness's deposition?—I have no knowledge of the greater part of the facts which the witness mentions. It is true that I gave two colours to the National Guard of Versailles; and it is also true that we walked round the table on the day of the repast given by the *gardes-du-corps*; but this is all.

You acknowledge that you were in the hall of the ci-devant *gardes-du-corps*. Were you there when they played the air of *O, Richard! O, my King!*—I do not recollect.

Were you there when the health of the nation was proposed, and rejected?—I do not think that I was.

It is notorious, that the report all over France at that time was, that you had yourself visited the three armed corps at Versailles, for the purpose of engaging them to defend what you called the prerogatives of the throne.—I have nothing to answer.

Did you not, before the 14th of July, hold nocturnal meetings, at which Polignac assisted; and was it not there deliberated upon the means of sending money to the Emperor?—I never assisted at any such meetings.

Have you any knowledge of the famous *bed of justice*, held by Louis Capet, in the midst of the representatives of the people?—I have.

Was it not D'Espremenil and Thouret, assisted by Barentin,

Barentin, who revised the articles that were proposed?—I am entirely ignorant of this matter.

Your answers are not accurate; for it was in your apartments that the articles were revised.—It was in the council that this affair was determined.

Did not your husband read his speech to you half an hour before he entered the hall of the representatives of the people, and did you not engage him to pronounce it with resolution?—My husband had great confidence in me, and that made him read his speech; but I made no observations.

What were the deliberations upon surrounding the representatives of the people with bayonets, and assassinating half of them if possible?—I never heard mention of such a thing.

You cannot have been ignorant that there were troops in the Champ de Mars. You must know the cause of their being assembled.—I knew at the time that troops were assembled, and I am absolutely ignorant of the motive.

But enjoying the confidence of your husband, you must have known the cause.—It was to restore public tranquillity.

What use have you made of the immense sums which you have been entrusted with?—No enormous sum has been entrusted to me; the accounts of my household will prove what use has been made of all I have received.

How did the family of the Polignacs, who were so poor at first, grow so rich?—The family held offices at court which were very lucrative.

*Jean Baptiste Lapierre*, ci-devant Aide-Major of the National Guards, deposed, that being on guard in the Château, the 20th of June 1791, the day of the flight to Varennes, he had heard a report, that the Aristocrats were to carry off the Queen and the royal family during the night, but that notwithstanding his vigilance he had seen nothing.

*Public Accuser.* By what quarter did you depart

on the day that you fled?—By the door of the apartment of M. de Villequier.

Who opened that door?—It was I.

Were you on foot, or in a carriage, in crossing the Square du Carouzel?—On foot.

Were Bailly and La Fayette informed of your departure?—No.

Did you meet with La Fayette as you were going away?—We saw him in his carriage in the Square du Carouzel.

What o'clock was it?—Half past eleven at night.

Had you seen La Fayette that day?—I do not recollect.

*Rouffillon*, ci-devant Judge of the Revolutionary Tribunal. “All the facts contained in the act of accusation are of such public notoriety that it is unnecessary to spend time on them. If my fullest conviction can be of any weight, I will not hesitate to affirm, that I am fully persuaded that this woman is guilty of the greatest crimes; that she has always conspired against the liberty of the French people. The following is a circumstance which I have to relate to you. On the 10th of August, I was present at the siege of the chateau of the Tuilleries. I saw under the bed of Marie Antoinette full or empty bottles, from which I concluded that she had herself distributed wine to the Swiss soldiers, that these wretches in their intoxication might assassinate the people.” Rouffillon then declared, that his intention, and that of the other patriots, was, after having inflicted justice on the Etat Major of the Swiss Guard, to proceed to the Convention, to sacrifice the royal family who had taken refuge there. “We met,” added he, “Brissot and Gaudet, who conjured us not to commit that political crime. I say political crime, for it can never surely be a crime in morals to rid the earth of tyrants.”

*Pres.* Have you any observations to make, Marie Antoinette?—I am not acquainted with that gentleman; I do not know what he means.

*Jacques*

*Jaques-René-Hebert*, substitute of the Procureur of the Commune, deposed, that as a member of the Commune of the 10th of August, he was charged with different important functions, which afforded him an opportunity to be convinced of the conspiracy of Antoinette, particularly one day in the Temple he found a copy of the ritual belonging to her, in which was one of the counter-revolutionary emblems, representing an inflamed heart pierced with an arrow, on which was written *Iesu miserere nobis*. Another time he found in the chamber of Elizabeth, a hat, which was known to have belonged to Louis Capet. This discovery left him no room to doubt that there were among his colleagues some men base enough to degrade themselves so far as to be the servants of tyranny. He recollects that Toulan had one day entered with his hat into the Temple, and had come out bareheaded, saying that he had lost it. He added, that Simon having apprised him that he had something important to communicate, he went to the Temple, accompanied with the Mayor and Procureur of the Commune; they there received a declaration, on the part of young Capet, to this purport: That at the period of the flight of Louis Capet to Varennes, La Fayette was one of those who had most contributed to facilitate it; that they had with this view spent the night in the palace; that during their residence in the Temple, the prisoners had for a long time been informed of all public transactions; and a correspondence was transmitted to them in clothes and shoes. Young Capet named thirteen persons as being concerned in carrying on this correspondence; that one of them having shut him up with his sister in a turret, he heard what his mother said: "I will procure you the means of being informed of the news, by sending you every day to cry near the Tower, *Le Journal du Soir*." In fine, young Capet, whose constitution became every day impaired, was surprised by Simon in practices de-

structive to his health, and at his period of life very uncommon; he was asked who had instructed him in these practices; he replied, that it was his mother and his aunt. From the declaration made by young Capet, in presence of the Mayor of Paris and the Procureur of the Commune, it appeared, that these two women had often made him sleep between them, in which situation he had been accustomed to the most abominable indulgences; and that from what he had said, there was not even room to doubt but that the charge on this head, alledged in the act of accusation, was true. There is reason to believe that this criminal indulgence was not dictated by the love of pleasure, but by the political hope of enervating the constitution of the child, whom they supposed destined to sit on the throne, in order that they might acquire an ascendancy over his mind. In consequence of these practices, he was attacked with a rupture, which rendered the use of a bandage necessary; and since he has been removed from his mother, his constitution becomes vigorous and robust.

*Pres. to the Q.* What have you to answer to the deposition of the witness?—I have no knowledge of the facts of which Hebert speaks; I know only that the heart he mentions was given to my son by his sister; with respect to the hat, it was a present to my sister by her brother while alive.

Did the administrators Michonis, Jobert, Marino, and Michel, when they came to you, bring any persons along with them?—Yes, they never came alone.

How many did they bring each time?—Frequently three or four.

Were not these persons administrators?—I do not know.

Did Michonis, and the other administrators, when they came to you, wear their scarfs?—I do not recollect.

The

The witness Hebert was called upon to state whether he was acquainted with the manner in which the administrators executed their functions. He answered, that he was not exactly acquainted, but that he remarked on the occasion of the declaration made by the accused, that the family of Capet, during their residence in the Temple, were informed of every thing that occurred in the city; they knew all the municipal officers who were called there every day by their duty, both their particular history and the nature of their different functions.

*Public Accuser.* Did not citizen Michonis bring along with him into prison an individual who let drop a pink, in which was inclosed a billet?—The fact is true.

Who was the man who delivered to you this billet? Did you know him? What is his name? What were the contents of the billet? Did you answer it?—His name I do not recollect. The contents of the billet were, that he had been thrown into prison, but had found means to extricate himself; that he offered me money; and that he would return the Friday following. I answered, by prick-ing upon a paper with a pin, that my guards never suffered me to be out of their sight; so that I had no opportunity to write or communicate with any one.

Why were you startled upon seeing this individual?—Because I was alarmed at the danger which he ran in getting into my prison.

The Tribunal was going to proceed to hear another witness, when one of the jury requested the President to demand of the Queen to answer with respect to the crimes, the proofs of which rested on the declarations of the young Capet.

*Q.* I remained silent on that subject; because nature holds all such crimes in abhorrence! Then, turning with an animated air to the people, “I appeal to all mothers who are present in this auditory, is such a crime possible?”

*Abraham Silly*, notary, deposed, that being on duty at the ci-devant palace of the Thuilleries, on the night of the 20th of June, the accused came to him about six o'clock in the evening, and said that she wished to walk with her son; that he charged the Sieur Laroch to accompany her; that some time after he saw La Fayette come five or six times to Gouvier; that the latter, about ten o'clock, gave orders to shut the gates, excepting that looking into the court called the court of the ci-devant princes; that on the morning, Gouvier entered the apartment where the deponent was, and said to him, rubbing his hands with an air of satisfaction, *They are gone*; that he delivered to him a packet which he carried to the Constituent Assembly, for which Citizen Beauharnois, the president, gave him a receipt.

*Pres.* At what hour of the night did La Fayette quit the palace?—At midnight, within a few minutes.

*Pres. to the Q.* At what hour did you depart?—I have already said at three quarters past eleven.

Did you depart with Louis Capet?—No, he departed before me.

How did he depart?—On foot, by the great gate.

And your children?—They departed an hour before, with their governesses; they waited for us in the Square of the Petit Carouzel.

What was the name of the governess?—De Tourzel.

Who were the persons along with you?—The *regarde-du-corps* who accompanied us, and who returned with us to Paris.

How were they dressed?—In the same manner as at their return.

And how were you dressed?—I wore the same robe as at my return.

How many persons were there apprized of your departure?

departure?—There were only the three gardes-du-corps at Paris, who were acquainted with it; but on the road Bouillé had placed troops to protect our departure.

You said that your children departed an hour before you, and that the ci-devant king departed alone; who then accompanied you?—One of the gardes-du-corps.

Did not you at your departure meet La Fayette?—I saw, as I was departing, his carriage passing along the Carouzel, but I took care not to speak to him.

Who furnished you, or caused you to be furnished with the famous carriage in which you departed with your family?—A foreigner.

Of what nation?—A Swede.

Was it not Ferseu, who resided at Paris, Rue de Bacq?—Yes.

Why did you travel under the name of a Russian baroness?—Because it was impossible any other way to get out of Paris.

Who procured you the passport?—It was demanded by a foreign minister.

Why did you quit Paris?—Because the king was desirous to go from it.

Pierre Joseph Terrason, employed in the office of the minister of justice, deposed, that upon the return from Varennes, being upon the steps of the ci-devant palace of the Tuilleries, he saw the accused come out of the carriage, and throw upon the national guard who escorted her, and likewise upon the other citizens who were in her way as she passed along, a most vindictive glance; which suggested to him, the deponent, the idea that she would certainly take an opportunity of revenge; in reality, some time after the scene of the Champ de Mars took place. He added, that Duranthon, who was minister of justice, with whom he had been intimately acquainted at Bourdeaux, as they had there exercised together the

the same profession, said to him that the accused opposed the King's giving his sanction to different decrees, but that he had represented to her that this affair was of more importance than she thought, and that it was even of the utmost urgency that these decrees should be speedily sanctioned; that this observation made an impression upon the accused, upon which the King gave his sanction.

*Pres. to the Q.* Have you any observations to make on the evidence of the deponent?—I have only to say, that I never assisted at the council.

*Pierre Manuel*, a man of letters, deposed, that he knew the accused, but never had any connexion with the family of Capet, except when he was Procureur of the Commune; that he went several times to the Temple, to carry into execution the decrees; as to the rest, he never had any particular conversation with the wife of the ci-devant King.

*Pres. to the Wit.* You have been administrator of police?—Yes.

In this situation you must have had some connexion with the court?—It was the mayor who had the connexion with the court. For my own part, I was, I may almost say, always at La Force, where, from motives of humanity, I did as much good as possible to the prisoners.

Did Louis Capet at that time highly commend the administration of the police?—The administration of police was divided into five branches, of which there was one of subsistence; it was upon this branch that Louis Capet bestowed so many commendations.

Have you any details to give with respect to the day of the 20th of June?—On that day I did not quit my post, as the people might have been alarmed at not finding one of their principal magistrates; I went into the garden of the palace. I there spoke with different citizens, and discharged no municipal function.

Tell what came within your knowledge with respect

spect to what passed in the palace in the night between the 9th and 10th of August?—I did not choose to quit the post where the people had placed me; I remained all night at the bar of the commune.

You were intimate with Petion; he must have told you what passed?—I was his friend both from the ties of office and of esteem; and if I had conceived him capable of deceiving the people, and of being a party in the coalition of the palace, he would have forfeited my esteem. He had, however, told me, that those in the palace were desirous of the 10th of August, in order to re-establish the royal authority.

Do you know that the masters of the palace had given orders to fire upon the people?—I knew it from the commandant of the post, an excellent republican, who came to inform me of it. Upon this, I immediately issued orders to the commandant general of the armed force; and, as Procureur of the Commune, expressly forbade him to fire upon the people.

How happens it that you, who have just declared that in the night of the 9th of August you never quitted the post where the people had placed you, have since abandoned the honourable function of legislator, to which their confidence had called you?—When I saw disturbances excited in the bosom of the Convention, I retired; I thought that thus I should act better. I adopted the principle of THOMAS PAINÉ, my master in republicanism; I despaired along with him of seeing the reign of liberty established upon a fixed and durable basis; I might vary in the means which I proposed, but my intentions were always pure,

How! you call yourself a good republican; you say that you love equality, and you proposed to pay to Petion honours equivalent to those of royalty?—It was not to Petion, who was only president fifteen days, but to the president of the National Convention, that I wished to pay honours; I desired that a huissier and a gendarme should go before him, and that

that the citizens of the tribune should rise at his entrance. It was suggested at that time, in better speeches than mine, and I went into the opinion.

Do you know the names of those who gave notice that Petion was in some danger at the palace?—No, I only believe that they were deputies, who gave notice of it to the Legislative Assembly.

Why did you take it upon you to enter alone into the Temple, and particularly into the apartments called royal?—I never allowed myself to enter alone into the apartments of the prisoners; I, on the contrary, took care always to be accompanied by several of the commissioners who were on duty there.

Why did you shew a degree of solicitude for the valets of the accused, in preference to the other prisoners?—It is true, that at La Force the girl Tourzel believed her mother to be dead; the mother supposed the same of the daughter; guided by a principle of humanity, I brought them together.

Did not you hold correspondence with Elizabeth Capet?—No.

*Presi. to the Q.* Had you ever any particular conversation with the witness in the Temple?—No.

*Jean Silvain Bailly*, a man of letters, deposed that he never had any intercourse with the family formerly called royal; he protests that the facts contained in the act of accusation, touching the declaration of Louis Capet, are absolutely false; he observed on that head, that some days before the flight of Louis, when the rumour of his flight was spread, he communicated the intelligence to La Fayette, recommending him to take all necessary measures on that subject.

*Presi. to the Wit.* Were you not connected with Pastoret and Rœderer, Ex-procureur general Syndics of the department?—I had no connexion with them except what related to the magistracy.

Was

Was it not you who, in conjunction with La Fayette, founded the club known by the name of 1789?—I was not the founder; and I only belonged to it because some Bretons, who were my friends, were members. I was invited, and told it would only cost me five louis, which I gave, was admitted, and have never since been present but at two dinners.

Have you not assisted at the conciliabules; held at the house of the ci-devant La Rochefoucault?—I never heard any mention of conciliabules; such may have existed, but I never was at them.

If you held no conciliabules, why, when by the decree of the 19th of June 1790, the Constituent Assembly desired to convey the loud testimony of a grateful nation to the conquerors of the Bastille, and reward their courage and zeal by placing them in a distinguished manner among their brethren in the Champ de Mars on the day of the federation; why, I say, did you excite quarrels between them and their brethren in arms, the former French guards, and afterwards act the weeper before their assembly, and induce them to reject the gratification with which they had been honoured?—I went, at the request of their leaders, for the purpose of reconciling the parties. It was one of them who made the motion to return the decorations with which they had been honoured by the Constituent Assembly, and not I.

Those who made the motion having been discovered to be your spies, the brave conquerors did themselves justice by expelling them.—There were strange mistakes concerning that affair.

Were not you active in favour of the journey to St. Cloud, in the month of April; and did you not, in concert with La Fayette, solicit from the department the order to hoist the red flag?—No.

Were you informed that the late King concealed in the palace a considerable number of refractory priests?

priests?—Yes; I even went to the King at the head of the municipality, to petition him to dismiss the priests that had not taken the oaths.

Can you tell the names of those residents in the palace, who were known by the title of Knights of the Dagger?—Not one.

At the time of the revision of the constitution of 1791, were not you connected with the Lameths, Barnave, Desmeunier, Chappellier, and other famous combined revisors, or rather men bribed by the court to strip the people of their real rights, and leave them only the shadow of freedom?—La Fayette was reconciled to the Lameths, but I had no reconciliation to effect, for I had never been intimate with them.

It appears you were very intimate with La Fayette, and that your opinions were much the same?—My intimacy with him related to his office; and as to the rest, my opinion was at that time the general one.

You say you have never been present at any conciliabule; but how did it happen that, at the moment when you appeared before the Constituent Assembly, Charles Lameth drew the answer he made you ready written from under his desk? That proved the existence of a criminal coalition.—The National Assembly, by a decree, had sent for the constituted authorities. I went up with the members of the department and the public accusers. I did no more than receive the orders of the Assembly, and was not the speaker. It was the president of the department who pronounced the discourse on the occasion.

Did not you likewise receive the orders of Antoinette to massacre the best patriots?—No; I did not go to the Champ de Mars till after an arrêt of the council general of the commune.

The patriots assembled in the Champ de Mars with the permission of the municipality; they had made their declaration to the register, and had obtained

tained their receipt. Why did you hoist against them the infernal red flag?—The council came to their resolution in consequence of two men having been murdered in the Champ de Mars. The succeeding accounts were more and more alarming; the council was deceived, and determined to employ an armed force.

Were not the people, on the contrary, deceived by the municipality? Was it not the municipality that provoked the assembling of the people, in order to collect the best patriots together, and have them murdered?—No, certainly.

What did you do with the dead; that is, the patriots who were assassinated?—The municipality having drawn up the proces-verbal, transported the dead to the court of the military hospital, at Gros-Caillou, where most of them were owned.

How many were they?—The number was ascertained, and rendered public in the proces-verbal, which was published at the time by the municipality; there might be twelve or thirteen.

*One of the Jury.* I wish to inform the court, that being on that day at the Champ de Mars with my father, at the time the massacre began, I saw seventeen or eighteen persons, of both sexes, killed near the river where we stood. We could only escape death ourselves by wading up to the chin.

The witness was silent.

*Pres. to the Q.* What was the number of priests you had in the palace?—We had none about our persons but the priests who said mass.

Had they taken the oaths?—The law allowed the king to choose whom he pleased.

What was the subject of conversation with Barnave and Petion, on the return from Varennes to Paris?—A variety of different things.

*John Baptist Hibain, alias Perceval,* formerly a game-keeper, and now employed at the manufactory of arms, says, “That being at Versailles on the first

of October 1789, he knew at that time of the first feast of the *gardes-du-corps*, but was not present at the same. That, on the fifth of the same month, in his capacity of Aid-de-camp of the ci-devant Count D'Estaing, he acquainted the latter that some commotions had happened at Paris, of which D'Estaing took no notice; that the same afternoon, the crowd having considerably increased, he spoke to D'Estaing a second time, but that he would not so much as hear him.

The witness next entered into a detail of the arrival of the Parisians at Versailles between eleven and twelve at night.

Did you not wear a decoration at that period?—I wore the ribbon of the order of Limbourg, of which I had, like any one that wished to have it, bought the brevet for 1500 livres.

Were not you, after the disorderly feasts of the *gardes-du-corps*, in the Court of Marble, and were you not one of the first that scaled the balcony of the ci-devant king?—I came to the feast of the guards when it was nearly finished, and as they went to the castle I accompanied them thither.

*Pref. to Wit. Lecointre.* Inform the tribunal what you know relating to the present witness.

*Lecointre.* I know that Perceval scaled the balcony of the apartment of the ci-devant king—that he was followed by a grenadier of the regiment of Flanders, and that being arrived at the apartment of Louis Capet, Perceval embraced the said grenadier, in presence of the tyrant, then present; saying, “There is no more a regiment of Flanders, we are all of us royal guards.” A dragoon from the regiment *Les Trois Evéchés*, having attempted unsuccessfully to follow them, was going to destroy himself. The witness observed, that he did not speak to the above fact as an eye-witness, but that Perceval, the evidence present, had at the time entrusted it to him, Lecointre, in confidence, and he found it afterwards

to be strictly true. He, in consequence, desired the president to require Perceval to declare, whether or not he remembers having related at the time the above circumstances to him the witness.

*Perceval.* I remember having seen citizen Lecointre; I even believe that I acquainted him with the history of the balcony. I know he was, on the 5th and 6th of October, commander of the National Guards, in the absence of D'Estaing, who had absconded.

*Lecointre* maintained his deposition as strictly true. Another witness was heard.

*Rene Mallet*, a servant-maid, deposed, that having in 1788 lived as servant on the Great Common at Versailles, she asked one day the ci-devant Count Coigny, in a moment of good humour, " Will the emperor still continue to wage war against the Turks? Surely that must ruin France on account of the immense sums the queen sends her brother for that purpose, which must at least amount to two hundred millions." — " Thou art right enough," answered the Count, " it has cost already more than two hundred millions, and we are not at the end of it yet." " I know further," says the witness, " that happening to be, after the 23d of June 1789, in a place where some guards of Artois and some officers of hussars were present, I heard the former say, at the time the massacre of the French guards was in agitation, " Every one must be at his post and do his duty :" But that the French guards having been informed of the businels intended against them, cried out *To arms!* which defeated the project entirely.

I further observe (continued the witness) that I have been informed by divers persons, that the prisoner had formed a plan to assassinate the Duke of Orleans. The King being acquainted therewith, ordered her to be instantly searched; on which two pistols were found on her. The King, in consequence, had her confined a prisoner in her own room during a fortnight.

*Queen.* It is possible I might have received an order from my husband to remain a fortnight in my apartment, but it was not for a case similar to the above.

*Witness.* I know farther, that in the first days of October 1789, some ladies of the court distributed white cockades to divers private gentlemen at Versailles.

*Queen.* I remember having heard, that one or two days after the feast of the body-guards, some women distributed these cockades; but neither I nor my husband were the authors of similar disorders.

*Pres.* What steps did you pursue to punish these women, after you were acquainted with this circumstance?—*Q.* None at all.

Another witness is heard.

*Jean Baptiste Labennette* deposes, that he is perfectly acquainted with a number of facts contained in the act of accusation; and he adds, that three private men came to assassinate him, in the name of the prisoner.

*Pres. to the Q.* Did you ever read the “Orator of the People.”—No; never.

*François de Fresne*, gen-d’arme, deposes, that having been in the room of the prisoner, at the time a pink was brought her, knows that on the billet therein concealed, the following words were written: “What are you doing here? We have men and money at your service.”

*Magdalaine Rosay*, wife of Richard, ci-devant keeper of the house of arrest in the Conciergerie of the palace, deposes, that a gen-d’arme, named Gilbert, had told her that the prisoner had received a hint from a private gentleman, brought there by Michonis, administrator of the police, which gentleman had given her a pink, in which a billet was concealed; that, considering that the said gentleman might bring her, the witness, into trouble, she acquainted

Michonis

Michonis thereof; who answered, that he would not introduce any further persons to the widow Capet.

*Toussaint Richard* declared, that he well knows the prisoner, for having been put under his guard since the 2d of October last.

*Marie Devaux*, wife of Arell, deposes, that she had been with the prisoner during forty-one days, at the Conciergerie; and had neither seen nor heard any thing, except a gentleman coming one day with Michonis, who gave the prisoner a billet folded up in a pink; that she, the witness, was then working, and she saw the same gentleman call again in the course of that day.

*Queen.* He came twice in the space of a quarter of an hour.

The Queen being asked respecting a small packet which was shown her, she acknowledged it was the same as that on which she had put her seal, when she was transferred from the Temple to the Conciergerie. The packet being opened, one of the officers of the court took an inventory of it, and called over its contents.

The first were some locks of hair of different colours.

*Queen.* They are the hairs of my children, living and dead, and of my husband.

The next was a packet marked with cyphers.

*Queen.* This is only a table to teach my child to reckon.

Several papers were then read, containing memorandums of washing-bills, &c.

A port-feuille of parchments and other papers was then produced, on which were written the names of different people.

The President demanded that the Queen should explain them.

*Pres.* Who is the woman called Salentin?—She was for a long time charged with my affairs.

Who is the Demoiselle Vion?—She was employed in the care of my children's clothes.

And who is Mrs. Chaumette?—She succeeded Miss Vion.

What is the name of the woman who took care of your laces?—I do not know her name, some of my ladies employed her.

Who is Le Bernier, whose name is written here?—It is the name of the physician who attended my children.

The Public Accuser here demanded that mandates of arrest should be issued against the abovenamed ladies; and that Le Bernier should be simply ordered to attend.

The Tribunal complied with this requisition.

The Register then continued the inventory of the effects in the packet found on Marie Antoinette.

A small pocket-book, containing scissars, needles, thread, silk, &c.

A small looking-glaſs.

A golden ring with hair-work.

A paper, on which are two hearts in gold, with some initial letters.

Another paper, on which is written, *Prayers to the sacred Heart of Jesus; Prayers to the immaculate Conception.*

A portrait of a lady.

*Pres.* Whose portrait is this?—That of Madame De Lamballe.

Two other portraits of ladies.

*Pres.* Who are the persons these portraits represent?—Two ladies whom I was brought up with at Vienna.

What are their names?—The ladies of Mecklenburgh and of Hesse.

A paper containing 25 fingle louis d'ors.

*Queen.* They are ſome that were lent me while we were at the Feuillans.

A ſmall canvas, with a heart painted in flames on it, pierced by a dart.

The Public Accuser desired the witness Herbert

to examine this heart, and to declare if he knew it to be the same he found in Temple.

*Hebert.* This heart is not the same I found, but very much like it.

The Public Accuser remarked, that in the number of prisoners accused of conspiracy, and brought before the Tribunal as such, and who have suffered under the fword of the law, most of them wore that counter-revolutionary sign.

Hebert observed, that he does not know any thing of the women Salentin, Vion, and Chaumette, having ever been employed in the service of the prisoners in the Temple.

*Queen.* They were so at the beginning.

*Pres.* Did you not a few days after your evasion on the 20th of June, order some apparel of the Soeurs Grises (a description of nuns)?—I never gave any such order.

Another witness was called.

*Philip-François Gabriel Latour Dupin Gouverne,* an ancient officer in the French service, declares, that he knew the prisoner ever since she came to France, but has no knowledge of any of the facts contained in the act of accusation.

*Pres. to the Wit.* Have you not been present at the feasts in the castle?—I never went to court.

Were you not at the feast of the Gardes du Corps?—I could not be there, as I was at that time commander in Burgundy.

What! were you not minister at that time?—I never was a minister, nor would I have accepted it, if those then in office had made me an offer of such an appointment.

*Pres. to the Wit. Leccointre.* Do you know the witness present to have been minister at war in 1789?—I know this witness was never minister. He that was minister at that time, is here now, and going to be examined.

The witness was ordered in.

*Jean.*

*Jean-Frederic Latour Dupin*, officer and ex-minister of war, deposes, that he knows the prisoner, but nothing of the charges in her indictment.

*Pres. to the Wit.* Were you minister on the 1st of October 1789?—Yes, I was.

You no doubt at that time heard of the feast of the ci-devant Gardes du Corps?—Yes, I have.

Were you not the minister in the month of June 1789, when the troops arrived at Versailles?—No, I was then deputy of the Assembly.

The court apparently laid you under restrictions, in naming you minister at war?—I do not think the court did.

Where were you on the 23d of June, when the ci-devant King came to hold that famous Bed of Justice in the midst of the representatives of the people?—I was at my place as deputy to the National Assembly.

Do you know then who were the authors who framed the declaration of the King, then read to the Assembly? No, I do not.

Did you not hear say they were Linguet, Espremenil, Barentin, Lally Tollendal, Desmeuniers, Bergasse, or Thouret?—No.

Was you at the ci-devant king's council on the 5th of October 1789?—No, I was not.

Was D'Estaing there?—I did not see him there.

D'Estaing said, “Well then, my fight on that day was better than yours, for I remember perfectly well having seen you there.”

*Pres. to Latour Dupin, Ex-minister.* Did you know that on that very day, the 5th of October, the royal family was going to Rambouillet, and from thence to Metz?—I remember the question being deliberated that day in the council, whether the king should go or not.

Do you know the names of those that were for his departure?—I do not know them.

What could be their motive for that departure?—

The

The concourse of people arriving at Versailles, which gave reason to think that the prisoner was then going to be murdered.

What was the result of the deliberation of the council?—That they should not go.

Where were they going?—To Rambouillet.

Did you at that time see the prisoner in the castle?—Yes, I did.

Did she not assist at the council?—I did not see her in the council, but only saw her enter the cabinet of Louis XVI.

You say the court was going to Rambouillet, but was it not rather to Metz?—No.

In your capacity as minister, did you not order coaches to be in readiness, and troops to be on the road, to protect the departure of Louis Capet?—No.

We know, however, to a certainty, that apartments were fitted up, and every thing got ready at Metz, for the reception of the Capet family?—This I know nothing of.

Was it by the order of Antoinette that you sent your son to Nancy, there to direct the massacre of those brave soldiers who had incurred the hatred of the court by shewing themselves patriots?—I only sent my son to Nancy to see the decrees of the National Assembly executed there; of course I acted not by the orders of the court, but agreeable to the wishes of the people. Even the Jacobins, at whose assembly Mr. Camus went to read the particulars of this affair, applauded it loudly.

*A Juryman.* Citizen President, I desire you will observe to the witness, that he must either be in error, or have bad intentions; because Camus never was a member of the Jacobins; and that society was very much displeased at the rigorous measures of a licentious faction, which had passed a decree of arrest against the best citizens of Nancy.

*Wit.* That is what I heard say at the time.

*Pres.*

*Pres.* Was it by Antoinette's orders you left the army in the state in which it was found?—I certainly do not expect a reproach on that head, as the French army, at the time of my resignation, was on a very respectable footing.

Was it to render it respectable, that you disbanded more than 30,000 patriots, to whom you ordered yellow cartridges to be distributed, with a view therewith to intimidate the defenders of their country, and prevent them from proving their patriotism and love of liberty?—This has nothing to do with the minister; the disbanding soldiers is not his business; the colonels of the regiments have the ordering of that.

But you, as minister, ought to make those commanders of regiments render you an account of similar operations, in order to judge who was right or wrong.—I do not believe there is one soldier who has any reason of complaint against me.

*Labenette* desired leave to mention a fact. He declared himself to be one of those that were honoured by the minister with a yellow cartridge, signed by his hand; and that in the regiment in which he served, he remarked the aristocracy of the Muscadins, a number of whom were in the staff. He observes, that he, the deponent, was a subaltern officer, and that very likely *Du Pin* may remember his name to be *Clairroyant*, corporal of the regiment of —.

*Du Pin.* Sir! I never heard of you!

*Pres.* Did not the prisoner, during your administration, desire you to deliver to her the exact state of the French army?—Yes.

Did she tell you what use she meant to make of it?—No.

Where is your son now?—He is either at a country seat near Bourdeaux, or at Bourdeaux.

*Pres. to the Q.* At the time you asked the witness the state of the armies, was it not with the view to send it to the King of Bohemia and Hungary?—As that list was quite public, I had no occasion to send it to

to him; the public papers were sufficient to make him acquainted therewith.

What were your reasons then for demanding it?—As there was a rumour that the Assembly was going to make considerable alterations in the army, I was curious to have the list of the regiments intended to be suppressed.

Have you not abused the influence you had over your husband, in asking him continually for draughts on the public treasury?—I never did so.

Where did you then get the money to build and fit out the Petit Trianon, in which you gave feasts, of which you were always the goddes?—There was a fund destined for that purpose.

This fund was then very considerable! for the Petit Trianon has cost enormous sums?—It is possible that the Petit Trianon may have cost immense sums; may be more than I wished. This expence was incurred by inches; in fact, I desire more than any one, that every person may be informed what has been done there.

Was it not at the Petit Trianon that you saw, for the first time, the wife of La Motte?—I never saw her.

Was she not your victim in the affair of the famous necklace?—How could she be so, as I did not know her?

So you persist in denying that you ever knew her?—My intention is not to deny; I only speak the truth, and shall persist in so doing.

Was it not you that caused the ministers and other civil and military officers to be named?—No.

Had you not a list of the persons you wished to get places for, with notes framed in glass?—No.

Did not you force divers ministers to name to the vacant places those whom you had given them a list of?—No.

Did you not force the ministers of finance to give you money; and some of them refusing so to do, have

have you not threatened them with all your indignation?—No; never.

Have you not been teasing Vergennes to send six millions to the King of Bohemia and Hungary?—No.

Another witness examined.

*Jean François Mathey*, keeper of the Tower in the Temple, deposed, that on the occasion of a song, called, “*Ah! il t'en souviendra du retour de Varennes*,” (“Ah! thou wilt remember thy return from Varennes,”) he said to Louis Charles Capet, “Dost thou remember the returning from Varennes?” to which the latter answered, “O, yes! I remember it well.” That the witness having asked him further, how they did to carry him away? he answered, “That they took him out of his bed when asleep, and they dressed him in girl's clothes, saying, *Come, you are going to Montmedy*.

*Pref. to the Wit.* Did you not observe, during your residence in the Temple, a familiarity between some members of the commune and the prisoners? —Yes, I even heard Toulan say one day to the prisoner, at the time of the new elections made for the organization of the definitive municipality, “Madam, I am not in repute, because I am a *Gasccon*.” I observed that L'Epitre and Toulan came frequently together; that they went up stairs directly, saying, “Let us go up, we shall there wait for our colleagues.” Another day he saw Jobert hand some medallions to the prisoner. That the daughter of Capet let one fall to the ground, and broke it. [After which the deponent entered into the details of the history of the hat found in Elizabeth's box.]

*Queen.* I have to observe, that the medallions mentioned by the witness, were three in number; that, that which fell on the floor and was broken was the portrait of Voltaire; of the other two, one represented Medea, and the other some flowers.

*Pref. to the Queen.* Did you not give to Toulan a gold

a gold snuff-box?—No, neither to Toulan nor any body else.

The witness *Hebert* observed, that a justice of the peace brought him to the town-house a denunciation, signed by two town-clerks of the Committee of Taxation, of which Toulan was the chief, proving this fact in the clearest manner.

Another witness examined.

*Jean Baptiste Olivier Garnarin*, ci-devant secretary to the commission of twenty-four, deposed, that having been commissioned to examine and enumerate the papers found in the house of Septeuil, he found in those papers a check for eighty thousand livres, signed Antoinette, to the profit of the ci-devant Polignac, with a note relating to one Lazaille; another paper proving that the prisoner had sold her diamonds to send their produce to the emigrants.

The deponent observed, that he delivered all these papers at the time to one Falazé member of the commission, to frame the indictment against Louis Capet; but that he the deponent was very much surprized to find that Falazé, in the report he made to the National Convention, never mentioned anything of these papers signed Marie Antoinette.

*Pres. to the Queen.* Have you no observations to make on the evidence of the witness?—I persist in saying, that I never gave nor signed any checks.

Do you know Lazaille?—Yes, I do.

How did you know him?—I know him to be a naval officer, and to have seen him at court, as well as others.

*Wit.* I have to observe, that the papers I spoke of were after the dissolution of the committee of twenty-four, and were carried to the committee of general safety, where they must be still; because having met within these few days two of my colleagues employed with me in the commission of twenty-four, we spoke of the process that was going

F to

be instituted against Marie Antoinette. I asked them what became of the papers in question? they said, they were deposited with the committee of general safety.

The witness Tillet begs of the President to interrogate citizen Garnerin, to declare if he does not equally remember having seen among the papers found at Septeuils, accounts of purchases of sugar, coffee, corn, &c. &c. &c. having been made to the amount of two millions; out of which fifteen thousand livres were already paid; and whether he does not recollect that, a few days after, these vouchers could not be found.

*Pres. to Garnerin.* You just now heard the interrogatory. Be so good as to answer it?—I know nothing of this business; at the same time it is notorious that there were plenty of forestallers all over France to buy up any article, in order to enhance the price of it, and thereby to disgust the people with the revolution and liberty, and force them by this means to forge their own chains.

*Pres. to the Q.* Have you any knowledge of the immense forestallings of commodities of the first necessity, made by the order of the court, to starve the people, and compel them to demand again the former government so favourable to tyrants?—I have no knowledge whatever of any forestallings.

Another witness examined.

*Charles Eleonore Dufriché Valazé,* formerly delegate to the National Assembly, deposes, that betwixt the papers found at M. Septeuil's, and which with others served to frame the indictment against Louis Capet, deceased, and at the making out of which he himself co-operated as a member of the commission of twenty-four, he observed two of them relating to the prisoner.

The first was a check or rather a receipt by her, signed for a sum of 15 or 20,000 livres, as near as he remembers; the other was a letter in which the minister

minister begs of the King to communicate to Marie Antoinette the plan of the campaign presented to him.

*Pref. to the Wit.* Why did you not speak of these vouchers when you made your report to the Convention?—I did not mention them, because I thought it superfluous to speak in the process of Louis Capet of a quittance of Antoinette.

Have you been a member of the commission of twenty-four?—Yes, I have.

Do you know what became of these two vouchers?—The pieces which served to form the indictment against Louis Capet were claimed by the community of Paris, because they contained charges against sundry individuals, suspected to have had an intention to compromise with several members of the National Convention, in order to obtain decrees favourable to Louis Capet. I believe that all the vouchers have now been returned to the committee of general safety.

*Pref. to the Queen.* What have you to answer to the depositions of this witness?—I know nothing, either of the check or the letter he mentions.

*Public Accuser.* It seems to be proved, notwithstanding your denials, that through your influence over the ci-devant king, your consort, you made him do what you pleased.—There is a wide difference between advising an action, and executing it.

You mean to say, that from the declaration of the witness, it results, that the ministers so well knew your influence over Louis Capet, that one of them desired of him to communicate to you the plan of the campaign he a few days before had presented to him. The consequence of which is, that you had entirely become master over his feeble character, and made him do any thing *bad*; for supposing even that of all your advice he followed the very best, you must be convinced within yourself, that he never could have made use of worse means to con-

duct France to the brink of destruction?—I never knew him to have that character you are speaking of.

Another witness examined.

*Nicholas Le Boeuf*, heretofore a municipal officer, protests against having any knowledge of the facts relating to the indictment; for, says he, “if I had observed any thing, I should have made you acquainted therewith.”

*Pres. to the Wit.* Did you ever converse with Louis Capet?—No.

Did you not, when you was on duty in the Temple, enter into conversation on political affairs with your colleagues and the prisoner?—I frequently conversed with my colleagues, but we did not speak of politics.

Did you frequently address Louis Charles Capet?—Never.

Did you not offer him the New Telemache to read?—No.

Have you not manifested a desire to be his governor?—No, never.

The prisoner being interrogated to declare if she ever had any private conversation with the witness, declares that she never spoke to him.

Another witness is heard.

*Augustin Germain Jobert*, a municipal officer, and administrator of the police, declares, that he has no knowledge whatever of any of the facts contained in the indictment against the prisoner.

*Pres. to the Wit.* Have you not, during your time of service in the Temple, had some conference with the prisoner?—No, never.

Did you not shew her one day something curious?—I have, in fact, shewn to the widow Capet and her daughter, medallions in wax, allegorical to the revolution.

Was there not a man's portrait betwixt them?—I do not believe there was.

For instance, the portrait of Voltaire?—Yes; but

but I have in my house 4 or 5000 of these sort of medallions.

Why was the picture of Medea among the number; did you mean it as an allusion to the prisoner?—It was all chance, I have so many of them. They are an article from England which I trade in, and sell them to the merchants.

Have you any knowledge that from time to time young Capet was shut up during the time you and other administrators had private conferences with the prisoner?—I know nothing of it.

And so you persist in saying that you never had any private conference with the prisoner?—Yes.

*Joseph Boye*, a painter, declared he had known the accused for eight years, as he then took the portrait of the king; but he had never spoken to her. He then gave an account of the project of reconciliation between the people and the ci-devant king, by the intervention of *Thierry*, valet-de-chambre of Louis Capet.

The Queen drew from her pocket a paper, which she gave to one of her defenders.

The Public Accuser demanded of Antoinette to declare what was the paper she had given him?

*Queen*. *Hebert* said, this morning, that correspondence was carried on by means of our clothes and shoes. I wrote, for fear of forgetting, that all our clothes and effects were examined when they came near us, which was done by the administrators of the police.

*Hebert* observed, that there was no foundation for this declaration, because the number of shoes was very considerable, fourteen or fifteen pairs a month.

*Dedier Jourdheuil*, serjeant, declared, that, in the month of September 1792, he found a string of papers in the house of *Affry*, in which was a letter from Antoinette, that contained these words; “Can we trust the Swiss; will they be firm when it may be necessary?”

*Queen.* I never wrote to Affry,

The Public Accuser observed, that last year, being director of the jury of accusation near the tribunal of the 17th of August, he was entrusted with the drawing up of the process against Affry and Cuzotte; that he perfectly well recollects having seen the letter of which the witness speaks; but the faction of Roland having caused this tribunal to be suppressed, got the papers removed by means of a decree which they procured, notwithstanding the objections of all good republicans.

*Pref.* What were the papers which were burnt at the manufacture of Serve?—*Queen.* I believe it was a bible; as for the rest, I was not consulted about it; I was told of it afterwards.

How can you be ignorant of this fact? Was it Riston who was charged with the negociation of this affair?—I never heard any thing of Riston; and I persist in saying, that I did not know La Motte. If I had been consulted, I would have opposed the burning of papers against me.

Another witness was called.

*Pierre Fontaine*, wood merchant, declared himself ignorant of every part of the accusation, knowing the prisoner only by reputation, and having no connection with the late court.

*Pref. to the Wit.* How long have you known Michonis?—About fourteen years.

What is the name of the individual who dined with you in company with Michonis?—His name is Rougy; I do not remember any thing about him; he was introduced by Madame Dutibleul.

How do you know that lady?—I once met her with another woman on the Boulevards; we entered into conversation, and drank coffee together; since that time she has been often at my house.

Has she not communicated to you some secrets?—Never.

What are the names of the deputies who were found

found with Rougy and Michonis?—There was only one.

His name?—Santerreau, deputy from Nievre to the Convention, and two other commissioners, sent by the primary assemblies of the same department to carry their act of the acceptance of the constitution.

What are their names?—Balendnot, curé of Beaumont, and Paulimer, also of that department.

Do you know what is become of Rougy?—No.

Another witness was called.

*Michael Gointre*, employed in the war-office, said, he had read attentively the act of accusation, and was much surprised not to find in it the articles of the forged assignats of Pally. As Polverel, who had been ordered to inquire into this affair, answered, it was impossible for him to proceed, unless the Assembly decreed that no person but the King was inviolable; this made him imagine, that there was no other person than the accused, about whom Polverel wished to speak, as she alone could furnish the funds necessary for such an enterprise.

*The witness Tiffet*. Citizen President, I wish the prisoner to be asked to declare, if she did not give the cross of St. Louis, and a captain's Brevet, to a person named Lareguie?

*Queen*. I know none of that name.

*Pres.* Did you not procure the nomination of Collet de Verrere to serve in the ci-devant guard of the late King?—Yes.

Did you not procure Parriseau a similar appointment?—No.

You so influenced the organization of the late royal guard, that it was composed only of individuals against whom the public opinion was directed; and, indeed, could the patriots behold without pain the Chief of the nation surrounded with guards composed of non-juring priests and assassins? Happily your politics were wrong. Their anti-civic conduct, their counter-revolutionary sentiments, forced the legislative

lative assembly to dismiss them; and Louis Capet, after that operation, kept them in pay till the tenth of August, when he was overturned in his turn. On your marriage with Louis Capet, did you not conceive the project of re-uniting Lorraine to Austria?—No.

You bear its name?—Because we ought to bear the name of one's country.

After the affair of Nancy, did you not write to Bouillé, to congratulate him on his having massacred seven or eight thousand patriots in that town?—I never wrote to him.

Did you not employ yourself in sounding the opinion of the departments, districts, and municipalities?—No.

The Public Accuser observed to the prisoner, that there was found upon her secretary a paper, which attests that fact in the most precise manner, and in which were found inscribed the names of Vaublanc and Jancourt.

The said paper being read, the Queen persisted in saying, that she did not recollect that she had ever written any thing of the kind.

*Wit.* I should request, Citizen President, that the accused may be obliged to declare, whether, on the day the people did her husband the honour of decorating him with the red bonnet, there was not held a nocturnal council in the palace, where the destruction of Paris was resolved, and where it was decided to post up royal bills by Esmenard, *Rue Platrière?* —I do not know that name.

*Pres.* Did you not, on the 9th of August, 1792, give your hand to Tassin, of Etang, to kiss, who was captain of the armed force of the Filles St. Thomas, saying to his battalion, " You are brave fellows, and of good principles; I will ever count on your fidelity?"—No.

Why did you, who had promised to bring up your children in the principles of the revolution, teach

teach them nothing but errors; in treating, for instance, your son with a respect which might make it believed that you thought of seeing him one day the successor of the ci-devant King his father?—He was too young to speak to on that subject. I placed him at the head of the table, to give him myself what he wanted.

Have you any thing to add to your defence?—Yesterday I did not know the witnesses: I knew not what they were to depose against me; and nobody has produced against me any positive fact. I finish by observing, that I was only the wife of Louis xvi. and it was requisite in me to conform myself to his will.

The President announced, that the interrogatories were closed.

*Fouquier*, the Public Accuser, then spoke. He reminded the jury of the flagitious conduct of the late French court—of its constant machinations against liberty, which it did not like, and the destruction of which it sought to encompass at any rate—its efforts to kindle civil war, in order to turn its result to its own advantage, by appropriating to itself this Machiavelian maxim, *Divide and reign!*—its criminal and culpable connexions with the foreign powers with whom the republic is at open war—its habits of intimacy with a villainous faction, which was devoted to it, and seconded its designs, by exciting in the bosom of the Convention animosities and dissensions—by employing all possible means to ruin Paris, and arming the departments against that city, and by incessantly calumniating the generous inhabitants of that city, the mother and preserver of liberty—the massacres perpetrated by the orders of that corrupted court in the principal towns of France, especially at Montauban, Nismes, Arles, Nancy, in the Champ de Mars, &c. &c. He considered Marie Antoinette as the avowed enemy of the French nation

nation—as the principal instigatrix of the troubles which had taken place in France for these four years past, and to which thousands of Frenchmen fell victims.

Chaveau and Fronson de Coudray, officially appointed by the Tribunal to defend Antoinette, acquitted themselves of that duty, and solicited the clemency of the Tribunal. They were heard with the most profound silence.

The Queen was then taken out of the Hall.

"There is one general observation to be attended to, namely, that the accused has owned that she had the confidence of Louis Capet. It is evident, too, from the declaration of Valaze, that Antoinette was consulted in political affairs, since the late King was desirous that she should be consulted upon some plan of which the witness could not tell the object. One of the witnesses, whose precision and ingenuity are remarkable, has told you, that the late Duke of Coigny had told him in 1788, that Antoinette had sent the Emperor, her brother, 200 millions, to enable him to carry on the war which he then waged against the Turks. Since the revolution, a bill of between 60 and 80,000 livres, signed Antoinette, and drawn upon Septeuil, has been given to the woman Polignac, then an emigrant; and a letter from La Porte recommended it to Septeuil, not to leave behind the least trace of that gift. Lecointre of Versailles told you, as an ocular witness, that since the year 1779, enormous sums had been expended at court, for the *fêtes* of which Marie Antoinette was always the idol."

The Public Accuser here enumerated the heads of the charges brought against the Queen in the act of accusation. In commenting on her conduct while confined in the Temple, he spoke as follows.

"The persons whose business it was to superintend in the Temple, always remarked in Antoinette an air of rebellion against the sovereignty of the people.

They

They seized an image representing an heart; which is a sign of *raillement*, and was worn almost upon all the counter-revolutionists, who came within the grasp of national vengeance. After the tyrant's death, Antoinette observed in the Temple, with regard to her son, all the etiquette of the ancient court. The son of Capet was treated as a king. In all domestic occurrences he had the precedence before his mother. At table he sat at the upper end, and was served first.

" I shall forbear, citizens of the jury, to mention here the interview of the Chevalier de St. Louis; of the carnation flower left in the apartment of the accused; of the pricked paper given, or rather prepared for an answer. But this instance is a mere gaol intrigue, and only a trivial object in such a grand act of accusation. It is the French nation which accuses Antoinette; and all the political events prove evidence against her.

" These are the questions which the Tribunal has determined to submit to you :

" 1st, It is proved that there existed machinations and private intelligence with powerful foreign states, and other external enemies of the republic; such machinations and intelligences tending to furnish succours in money, and to give them ingress into the French territory, for the purpose of facilitating the progres of their arms.

" 2d, Is Marie Antoinette convicted of having co-operated in the machinations, and of having entertained those intelligences?

" 3d, It is proved, that there existed a plot or conspiracy to light up a civil war in the heart of the republic.

" 4th, Is Marie Antoinette convicted of having had a share in that plot and conspiracy?"

The Jury, after having deliberated about an hour, returned into the hall, and gave a verdict—" Guilty of all the charges laid in the indictment."

The

The President then addressed the people as follows:

"If the citizens who compose this audience were not liberal men, and, consequently, capable of feeling all the dignity of their state, I ought perhaps to recal to their memory, that at the moment when the national justice is about to declare the law, reason and morality impose upon them the greatest silence, and forbid every mark of approbation; and that a person, of whatever crimes he may be convicted, and attainted by the law, is then only entitled to pity and humanity."

The Queen being again brought in, the President said, "Antoinette! hear the sentence of the jury."

*Fouquier* then spoke, and demanded that the accused should be condemned to die, conformably to the first article of the first section of the first head of the second part of the penal code, which is thus expressed:

"Every manœuvre or intelligence with the enemies of France, tending to facilitate their entrance into any part of the empire, whether it be to deliver up to them towns or fortresses, whether by corrupting the fidelity of the officers, soldiers, or other citizens towards the French nation, shall be punished with death."

And the second article of the first section of the first title of the second part of the same code is thus expressed:

"Every conspiracy and plot, tending to trouble the state by a civil war, in arming citizens against citizens, or the exercise of regal authority, shall be punished with death."

The President called upon the accused to declare, whether she had any objection to make to the sentence of the laws demanded by the Public Accuser?

¶ *Antoinette* bowed her head.

Upon the same demand being made of her defenders,

ders, *Fronson* spoke, and said, "Citizen President, the declaration of the jury being precise, and the law formal in this respect, I announce that my professional duty with regard to the widow Capet is terminated."

The President then moved for the court to adjourn; and the Queen was conducted back to prison.

*Hamart*, President of the Tribunal, summed up the evidence in the following manner:

"Citizens of the jury! The French nation, by its organ the public accuser, has accused before the national jury, Marie Antoinette of Austria, widow of Louis Capet, of having been the accomplice, or rather instigatrix of most of the crimes of which the last tyrant of France was found guilty—of having herself kept up a secret understanding with powerful foreign nations, especially with the King of Bohemia and Hungary, her brother—with the ci-devant emigrant French princes, and traitorous generals—with having furnished the enemies of the republic with supplies of money, and of having conspired with them against the external and internal security of the state.

"A great example is this day given to the universe, and it will surely not be lost upon the nations which inhabit it. Nature and reason, so long outraged, are satisfied at last, and equality is triumphant. A woman who lately possessed all the most brilliant appendages which the pride of kings and the baseness of slaves could invent, occupies now, before the tribunal of the nation, the place which was occupied two days ago by another woman; and this equality secures impartial justice.

"This trial, citizens of the jury, is not one of those where a single fact, a single crime, is submitted to your conscience and your knowledge. You have to judge all the political life of the accused, ever since she came to sit by the side of the last

King of the French; but you must, above all, fix your deliberation upon the manœuvres which she never ceased to employ, to destroy rising liberty, either from within the kingdom, by her close connexion with infamous ministers, perfidious generals, and faithless representatives of the people, or from without the kingdom, by causing the negociation of that monstrous coalition of the despots of Europe, which history holds up to ridicule for their impotence: In short, by her correspondence with the ci-devant emigrant French princes, and their agents.

" Had we wished for an oral proof of all those deeds, the prisoner ought to have been made to appear before the whole French nation. The material proof rests in the papers seized in the abode of Louis Capet, enumerated in a report made to the National Convention by Goheir, one of its members, in the collection of the justificatory pieces of the act of accusation passed against Louis Capet by the Convention. Lastly and chiefly, citizens of the jury, the proof lies in the political events of which you have all been witnesses and judges.

" If it were permitted to me, in fulfilling a limited office, to have yielded to emotions of humanity, we should have invoked before the jury the manes of our brothers at Nancy, at the Champ de Mars, at the frontiers of La Vendee, at Marseilles, at Lyons, at Toulon, in consequence of the infernal machinations of this modern Medicis: We should have brought before you the fathers, the mothers, the wives, the infants of those unhappy patriots!—What do I say? Unhappy! They have died for liberty, and faithful to their country. All those families, in tears and despair, would have accused Antoinette of having snatched from them every thing that was most dear to them in the world, and the deprivation of which renders life insupportable. In effect, if the satellites of Austrian despotism have broken in for a moment on our frontiers, and if they have

have there committed atrocities of which the history even of barbarous nations does not furnish a parallel example; if our ports, our plains, and our cities are sold or given up, is it not evidently the result of the manœuvres planned at the Tuilleries, and of which Marie Antoinette was at once the instigatrix and the moving principle? These, citizen jurors, are the public events which form the mass of proof that overwhelms Marie Antoinette.

"With regard to the declarations which were made in bringing on this trial, and the debates which have taken place, there result from them certain facts, which come directly in proof of the principal accusation brought against the widow Capet. All the other details, given either as a history of the revolution, or in the proceedings against certain notorious personages, and some treacherous public functionaries, vanish before the charge of high treason, which weighs heavily upon Antoinette of Austria, widow of the ci-devant King."

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When the sentence of the National Convention was read to the widow Capet, she cast down her eyes, and did not again lift them up. "Have you nothing to reply upon the determination of the law?" said the President to her. "Nothing," she replied. "And you, official defenders?"—"Our mission is fulfilled with respect to the widow Capet," said they.—She was then conducted back to the Conciergerie.

Immediately after the sentence had been passed, the committee, as a measure of general safety, ordered the two official pleaders who had been allowed to defend Marie Antoinette, to be taken into custody. It was supposed, that they might have been entrusted with some secrets of importance. The committee directed them to be sent to the Luxembourg, and to be treated with all that attention and

respect which was due to them. Their confinement was to expire in twenty-four hours.

On Wednesday the 16th, about 11 o'clock in the forenoon, Marie Antoinette was conducted from the prison of the Conciergerie to the Place de la Revolution, beyond the Garden of the Tuilleries, where Louis had suffered before her.

All the national guards in the several sections of Paris were under arms. The streets were lined by two very close rows of armed citizens; and Henriot, the commandant in chief, attended the Queen in a private coach, with a guard of cavalry, to the place of execution.

Nothing like sorrow or pity for the Queen's fate was shown by the people who crowded the streets through which she was to pass. On her arrival at the Place de la Revolution, she was helped out of the carriage, and ascended the scaffold with seeming composure. She had on a half-mourning dress, evidently not adjusted with much attention. Her hands were tied behind her back, and she looked round apparently without much terror. She was accompanied by the ci-devant curate of St. Landrey, a constitutional priest, who discharged the office of confessor, and gave her absolution before she was tied to the fatal board. Being then laid on the machine, and the groove fitted to her neck, the axe was let down, and in an instant separated the head from the body.

After the head was displayed by the executioner, three young women were observed dipping their handkerchiefs in the streaming blood of the deceased Queen, and were instantly arrested; one of whom, it is said, has been since executed.

The corpse was immediately after buried in a grave, filled with quick-lime, in the church-yard called de la Madeline, where Louis XVI. was buried in the same manner.

When

When Voulland, in the name of the Committee of General Safety, informed the Convention that the sentence of Marie Antoinette had been executed, some of the members of that committee were deputed to wait on Fronson de Coudray and Chaveau de le Gards, the two pleaders assigned her as counsel, to take their separate declarations.

Chaveau's declaration was as follows:—" My conference with Marie Antoinette lasted no more than three quarters of an hour, and the conversation was carried on loud enough to be heard by the four persons who were in the room. Antoinette made no declaration to me of importance; she spoke only of her trial. In all her questions she discovered the deepest dissimulation. The only unguarded phrase she made use of, was the following: ' I fear no one but Manuel.'

" The subsequent trait is a sufficient proof of her artifice. As she was on her way from the Revolutionary Tribunal to the Conciergerie, after her first examination, she asked me, ' If I did not think that she infused too much dignity into her replies? I put the question to you in consequence of hearing a woman say to her companion, *Observe how proud she is.*'"

Fronson's declaration:—" Marie Antoinette confided nothing of importance to me: She only gave me two pieces of gold and a lock of her hair, which she requested me to send to a woman of the name of Piorris, who lives at Lyvry, with the female citizen La Porte. Piorris, she said, was her particular friend."

Voulland concluded his report from the Committee of General Safety, by proposing that Chaveau and Fronson de Coudray should be set at liberty; and that it should be declared, that they had done nothing in the course of their defence of Marie Antoinette, to merit censure. This was decreed.

Thus died, in the 38th year of her age, by the hands of the common executioner, and in consequence of the verdict of her late subjects, the daughter of an Emperor, the wife of a King, and the mother of a Prince, who was called the Dauphin at his birth, nominated the Prince Royal by the Constituent Assembly, and looked upon for several years as the heir to the greatest and most splendid throne in Europe.

Her late Majesty had four children : Louis Joseph Xavier Francis, Dauphin of France, born October 27, 1781, and who died in 1788; Louis Charles, born March 27, 1785, now a close prisoner in the Temple ; Marie Theresa Charlotte, born December 19, 1788 ; and Sophia Helena Beatrix, born July 9, 1786.

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# HISTORY OF *MARIE ANTOINETTE,* LATE QUEEN OF FRANCE.

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THE exploits of exalted characters, of all descriptions, have ever been sought after with avidity, and regarded as one source of useful knowledge. Every individual has his particular vices and virtues; and each is the hero of his own party. The most celebrated plunderer claims an equal rank with the man in a more honourable profession; and the female of the purest manners, and the most irreproachable conduct, is too frequently confounded with the licentious and most debauched votary of vice. The mask assumed by each is calculated to deceive the judgment, and to fix a reputation on a deceitful basis. Hence we are apt to assign to the hero the appellation of Robber, and to the robber that of Hero; to call the virtuous woman a Prostitute, and the prostitute a woman of Virtue.

On the continent of Europe, such were the celebrated Prussia's monarch, and the no-less celebrated Mandrin. Each the hero of his party, they both surprized the world by their genius, conduct, courage, and success; though they did not both experience the same end. Nearly in the same degree of comparison moved the Countess Du Barry and Antoinette. Universal astonishment in Paris was excited by the first, by the most disgusting public de-

B . bauchery.

bauchery. The lasciviousness of Antoinette is equally great; the effervescence of her passions equally strong. Man or female were equally acceptable to her—nothing was rejected; and her want of skill and reflection rendered her misconduct as notorious as the open *profession* of the Countess. The resemblance between these two heroines was very strong in another point—in deceiving and degrading the men for whom it was their duty to procure honour and respect. Louis xv, even to his last moments, was a complete dupe to Du Barry, who, throwing off all regard to decency, indiscriminately admitted the valet and the peer to partake her favours with their sovereign. Louis xvi was equally deceived and disgraced by his wife, without even supposing it possible that she could act even so criminal a part.

Maria Theresa, the mother of our heroine, was in possession of the grand art of concealing her misconduct and defects beneath the semblance of genius, virtue, and resolution. Her progress through life was such, that every deviation from prudence, to which she was urged by her constitutional warmth, was counterbalanced by some splendid action. Her three daughters possessed all the vices of their illustrious mother, without one of her virtues. The character of the Queen of France we shall presently exhibit. The second sister, the Queen of Naples, is a mere *nullity*. The third, who has exhausted the Duke of Saxe Teschen, the most robust man in his dominions, gave her husband, the first night of her marriage, most unequivocal proofs of her former incontinence—Indeed that circumstance alone gave rise to the marriage.

Antoinette arrived in France in the year 1768, in order to consummate this most extraordinary marriage. It may be here necessary to take a cursory view of the court at the time of her arrival, for the purpose of affording some idea of the causes and consequences of this union; such a view may, like-  
wife,

wife, afford something like a justification of those disorders which we are about to relate.

The Duke of Choiseul (born to rival the fame of those skilful politicians, Richelieu and Mazarine) was, in some measure, prime minister by the ascendancy he had acquired over the mind of Louis, the weakest and most contemptible prince of the age in which he lived. The duke, whose spirit of intrigue was equalled only by his audacity, had obtained this degree of favour by the most abject submission, and the accomplishment of a *political* crime the most absurd and unpardonable. However solid he might deem the basis of his credit and authority, he feared the intrigues of a mistress he despised, and had even publicly insulted. Du Barry, by dint of caballing, was at the head of a powerful party; the duke's enemies were numerous; he had made many official reforms, and been long in place—He knew courtiers were fond of change, and he therefore feared his disgrace might be near at hand. In this situation it was natural he should seek for protection of a superior kind; and he thought to obtain it by projecting and completing the marriage of the lovely Antoinette with the Dauphin. Were this the only reproach which she had to object to him, it would be sufficient to render him odious to the whole nation.

Du Barry, a courtezan rendered completely infamous from her degrading debauchery, now filled the Bourbon throne; she had now quitted the arms of lacqueys and pages for those of the Count Du Barry, and from thence had gained the affections of the king, whom she degraded by every species of infamy. It was this refuse of human nature that, with the assistance of some courtiers, as contemptible as herself—Richelieus, Fronsacs, Aiguillons, Villerois, Maupeous, and many others of a similar stamp, held the reins of the government of France in her own hands. Such was the faction which, in

a moment of debauchery, overturned that Colossus of power which the Duke of Choiseul had raised, and on whose back he had placed his sister the Duchess of Grammont. To this Medicis of France may be justly applied the saying of an European poet with regard to the princeps of that name—“ That she possessed all the vices without any of the virtues of her sex.” A woman of great pride and intrigue, accustomed to exert the most despotic authority over all those who surrounded her car, and that of her brother—which might be called their *common* bed;—she attempted to exert the same dominion over Antoinette. The man who had caused the destruction of the father, perceived, from the weakness of the son, that it would be no difficult matter to acquire a complete ascendancy over his mind; he pursued his plans accordingly, and France was on the brink of becoming a prey to the pride and ambition of these two personages, when Du Barry effected their disgrace, and drove them from court.

Had the Duke of Choiseul known how to govern Louis, his command over him would not have been an absolute degradation of the monarch; but his violent attachment to Du Barry was as unpardonable, as the baseness of his courtiers, in paying their court to a woman who frequently insulted them in the most public manner. But, what was still more extraordinary, was, that in the Court of France, *women* should be found mean enough, not only to keep company with her, but to introduce her to the king. The Duchess of Valentinois, the vile Duchess of Mirepoix, the fat Princess of Tigny, and many others, who were beneath degradation, were adopted as companions to the favourite. They undertook, voluntarily, to teach her the arts of a court, to polish her, and to make her throw aside, particularly in public, that air of licentiousness which had made her shine so conspicuously in her midnight orgies. Her introduc<sup>tress</sup> lost her character

racter by her audacity ; the favourite, too, proved ungrateful, and did little for her ; her sole recompence consisted of a small sum of money, a place of trifling consequence for her son, and continual rebukes ; at last she was obliged to leave the court, and her son lost his place on account of a duel with the Marquis of Chatre, who had cast some reflections on his mother. The Count of Biffy, who had long been the pander of Richelieu, to whom he was indebted for his wife Bontems, given him as a recompence for his services, was chosen to conduct Du Barry to the bed of her sovereign ; and Buffaut, on the point of bankruptcy, supplied her with the necessary equipments for her *wedding night*. Biffy was rewarded by the payment of his debts ; and Buffaut, instead of becoming a bankrupt, gained forty thousand pounds, and Paris was compelled to receive him for her treasurer ; he discharged the duties of his office with the insolence of an upstart, and concluded by violating the ties of friendship, in marrying the mistress of his friend, a woman who was publicly kept.

The council was, at this time, composed of ministers who were almost all contemptible, either from ignorance or vice. Maupeou, chancellor ; the Duke of Vrilliere, chamberlain ; the Duke of Agignon, secretary at war, and for the foreign department ; De Boynes, first lord of the admiralty ; and the Abbe Terrai, comptroller of the finances ; filled the world with noise occasioned by their glorious exploits, their intrigues, misconduct, rougery, and incapacity. Every moment they urged their sovereign to the adoption of some inconsiderate measure, which a want of resolution and resources forced him to abandon : in short, a total subversion of the laws, an exhausted treasury, and a people overburthened with taxes, formed the happy result of their proceedings.

The Princes of the blood, the only company which

Antoinette could keep with propriety, were not better calculated than the rest of the court to give her lessons of decency; some of them were sunk into the most shameless debauchery; others were mean enough to pay their court to the prostituted idol of their sovereign; the rest, destitute of courage, sense, or honour, degraded themselves by their silence, the disorders that surrounded them, or else by an ignominious retreat, as humiliating to themselves as fatal to the happiness of the people;—a Duke of Orleans marrying his mistrels, and devoting his whole time to dramatic exhibitions; his son, the Duke of Chartres, dishonouring, by his conduct, the blood of the Bourbons; the Prince of Conti polluting it by his debauchery; his son, the Count of Marche, by paying his court to Du Barry, whose gentleman usher he was; the Prince of Conde living openly with another man's wife, whom he supplied with money to carry on a law-suit against her husband. The Duke of Penthièvre, a most decided hypocrite, with all the vices of devotees, but none of their virtues; and the Count d'Eu, living habitually with the inhabitants of the forest, whom he nearly resembled, and against whom, for that very reason, he ought to have abstained from waging such continual war.

The Princesses, of whom there were but few at that time, formed a separate party from their husbands: the Duchess of Chartres was the only one who merited the confidence of Antoinette; but her virtues deprived her of that confidence. Most of the ladies of the court were either prostitutes (to one sex or the other) gamblers, or sharpers, and in general the worst company in Paris.

Even if Antoinette had not brought with her to the court of Versailles the germ of every vice, even that of an unbridled love of *her own sex*, it would not have been surprizing, at her age, surrounded by such people, and a witness to such excesses, if she had

had preferred the seducing path of pleasure to that dull and even life which her august and doltish husband was likely to make her lead. In fact, how was it to be expected that a princess, young, and of a constitution uncommonly warm, could confine herself to a husband destitute of passion as of taste, who left her to the company of women without honour, and who were influenced by different motives, either to seduce her, or to secure her heart, which, though yet uncontaminated, was strongly inclined to become so?

When Antoinette first arrived at court, she met with general approbation; with a beautiful face, an elegant shape, a gaiety of humour, affable, attentive, and well informed; she was, at first, the idol of the court and of the nation. It will easily be supposed, that she soon laid a plan of life that might entitle her to give a scope to her inclinations. The etiquette of the French court, very different to that of the court she had left, which, while it preserves an air of grandeur, serves as a safeguard to the honour of princes; since the continual restraint it imposes on their wives, keeps all gallants at a distance, and disconcerts the best-formed projects. Incessantly watched with a jealous eye, a young princess is there reduced to content herself with her husband; and if that husband prove impotent, it is scarcely possible for any one but her chaplain or confessor to supply his place. This was a circumstance that by no means accorded with the arrangements of Antoinette.

She began by vain pretexts, that could not fail to please the king, to loosen those bands by which her conduct had been hitherto restrained; she insisted upon entering her grandfather's apartment alone, and whenever she liked; she walked about continually, unattended, and without ceremony, in order, she said, to shew herself to a people she loved, and by whom she wished to be esteemed. The Duchess

of

of Noailles, first lady of the chamber, who had been disadvantageously represented to the princess, was constantly ridiculed, and her remonstrances were neglected; and as her sole object was to preserve the etiquette of the court of Versailles, she thence received the appellation of Madame Etiquette.

Old Louis's partiality to his granddaughter did not last long. The Dauphin and his brothers, in short all the princes of the blood, had a fixed aversion to Antoinette, the Dauphin in particular suffered no opportunity of mortifying her to escape. The king was very desirous that she should seek to convert this hatred into sentiments of an opposite nature; he spoke to her on the subject; but how could he expect his advice to be attended to, when he had the baseness to seat her at the same table with that debauched creature who held the place of the Queen of France? This conduct must naturally have disgusted the young princess; but she confined her resentment to some severe sarcasms, which coming to the king's ears, caused a coolness between them.

This change appears to have been the signal of those domestic dissensions, which prevailed in the royal family; those dissensions, which have more than once given rise to the most scandalous scenes, irritated the disposition of Antoinette, who, from the favour she enjoyed with the king, had hitherto seen every thing humbled before her.

The Countess of Provence, the most vain, the most intriguing, and the most jealous of women, was enraged at not being married, herself, to the next heir to the crown; she detested Antoinette as much as she despised her sister, the Countess of Artois. The Countess, inconsistent in her conduct, devoid of sense, and destitute of ideas, passed the whole day in listening to the filthy discourse of her femme-de-chambre, who was also her husband's nurse, and occasionally his procress. This princess would have led the most inactive and stupid life, if she had not

not received from Nature the gift of conception. She owes her existence and credit to her fecundity, which, in spite of her defects, renders her supportable to the inhabitants of France, who like, without knowing the reason, to see children in the family of their sovereign.

These three young women were rather formed to receive, than to make, impressions; and each of them received such as were given them by those women who were most frequent in their company. The three princes, their husbands, had less strength of mind than personal consequence. The eldest, perfectly silly, is guided by an innate vanity, which tells him that every excellence is concentrated in himself. While he was Dauphin, his inclinations and his pleasures evinced the narrowness of his genius; since he has been king, a smile, a carelessness from his wife, forms the sum total of his felicity, gratifies every desire, and would lead him to subvert the monarchy, if he was not restrained by certain considerations with which the Count of Maurepas inspired him. This president of the council of the weakest of princes, was actuated solely by one principle—the most perfect indifference for every thing that could happen: undisturbed by events of any kind, wholly occupied by the functions of his stomach, all the rest was a mere dream to him. From his wardrobe he beheld the fall of ministers, who thought themselves the most firmly established in their seats, and enjoyed the insignificance of those who aspire to become objects of importance. A man of ability and wit, possessing those endowments which render him an amiable companion in his old age; but yet a bad minister from his inactivity. As our design is to speak less of ministers than of their superiors, this old man will be only mentioned occasionally, as he enjoys, at the same time, the confidence of the king, the queen, and their brothers and sisters; because he laughs at and comments on every thing, and, provided

vided his digestion be good, is always content with the buffonery of that foolish fellow Beaumarchais, who was paid so much per night for exhibiting behind the chairs of the Count and Countess of Mau-repas.

The king was then a perfect nullity, both in mind and body. The Count of Provence too was accused and convicted of a defect equally fatal, which enraged his wife, particularly when she contrasts her own sterility with the queen's pregnancy, although she had had recourse to the same means for removing it as Antoinette. The Count is vain, imperious, subtle, niggardly, and destitute of wit; his constitution weak, and his genius confined. He talks, merely by dint of memory, on every subject, without investigating any one; he shuts himself up in his study, that he may be thought to devote his time to reading and to the acquisition of useful knowledge; but he is only trifling away his time in making a critical journal of the events of the monarchy, and of what he hears from his parasites, who bring him the news of the town and the court: he often spends whole hours in admiring his diamonds, of which he is remarkably fond; these he buys like an usurer, and hoards as a miser does his gold, for the purpose of prostrating himself before them. Before he was married, he was deemed a man of gallantry, and appeared to follow, in this respect, the example of his ancestors. But since marriage he seems to have contracted the same contemptuous air towards his wife, which she displayed to all who attend her; he frequents the society of women no longer, but for the pleasure of ridiculing them; he no longer speaks of them, but for the sake of making obscene remarks, of which he is passionately fond. It is notorious that he keeps Mrs. Terrage, wife to a clerk of the Treasury; but for what purpose he keeps her, nor what use he makes of her, no one can conceive.

The Count of Artois, the least awkward of the three,

three, has a face that would appear handsome, if his mouth was not always open, which gives him a simple air, that accords perfectly with his conversation. He is well made, and graceful, but blunt, imperious, and passionate ; never speaking in the company of women, but to excite their blushes by his obscenity ; and, in the company of men, but to make some brutal remark, which frequently produces an adequate reply. This prince only loves women, play, and wine—that is, at the same time, he is addicted to debaucheries of every kind, which he enjoys in the company of his *worthy friend* the Duke of Chartres, the most base and stupid of all the princes of the blood, who unites in his disgusting person every possible vice—a sharper, a miser, a drunkard ; a stranger to decency and virtue ; a disgrace to his family, and an object of execration to the whole nation. The Count of Artois's household is composed of people of his own stamp ; the Prince of Henin, captain of his guards, is truly worthy of the honourable office of pimp and catamite, in which he is daily employed by his patron. This gentleman was formerly maitre d'hotel and purse-keeper to Sophia Arnauld, first singer at the opera, and the first *tribade*\* of the age.

Antoinette at first seemed to attach herself to the Count of Artois ; but of that attachment we shall have occasion to speak hereafter. She began, by banishing from court all kind of etiquette, and substituting the most open liberty, in the place of that awful ceremony which had been established by the late queen, and which, by the bye, was the only good thing which that princess ever did in her life. She soon became tired of the impotent caresses of her husband, and, as much from natural inclination, as for the purpose of deception, gave way to the impassioned and licentious caresses of her woman. She had long formed the design of giving an heir to the

\* A woman fond of her own sex.

throne ;

throne; that, indeed, was the chief aim of those instructions which she had received from the knowing empress, her mother, previous to her departure from Vienna. She suffered her august husband to exhaust all his endeavours for this purpose, which were equally short and ineffectual. It was therefore necessary to have recourse to a lover; she would not, however, employ a mere *machine for procreation*: she wished for a handsome, amiable man, who, to powerful faculties, united a certain degree of consequence;—since, in that case, if the matter should be discovered, her reputation would not be wholly destroyed.

Not daring to trust to herself in an object of such importance, Antoinette dispatched a private courier to Vienna, for she could not place implicit confidence in General Merci, with whom, too, a long conference might excite suspicion. The courier returned, and brought the following answer from the Oracle, which we have transcribed verbatim: “ My dear child, since you have a passion for women, you must certainly gratify it; but be constant, discreet, and moderate in your amours.—Constancy protects reputation; and discretion and moderation are essential to the preservation of health—as nothing spoils the person, and hurts the constitution, so soon as an intercourse of this nature. Your husband is unable to make you a mother, and ever will remain so;—it is doubtless a great evil, since a sterile queen is equally destitute of consequence and support. You must therefore follow *my* example, and take a substitute. Let your choice be directed by the same considerations which induced me to fix mine on Prince Charles—let the subject of it be tall, young, handsome, and, above all, vigorous; select him from among those courtiers who are ever nearest your person. Let what will happen then, you will have nothing to fear—Your lover will be an additional protector to you; in which you will be more fortunate than I was; as all the world were acquainted with

with my gallantry, and with its effects. Your's may be easily concealed beneath your passion for your own sex; but, let me again repeat—Take care of your health!" This advice, with the exception of constancy and discretion, was strictly adhered to, and every thing happened as the Oracle had foretold.

The Duchess of Pequiguy was the first who was honoured with the friendship and *intimacy* of Antoinette. She amused her, a long time, by her own bon-mots and witty sallies; particularly by her continual sarcasms on Du Barry, who was a constant object of ridicule to the whole family; but this talent exciting the apprehensions of her companions, made her many enemies, who contrived to promote her disgrace.

The late Duke of Vauguyon, the mortal enemy to the Duke of Choiseul, against whom he had declared open war, was seeking, at this period, to strengthen his tottering party. He imagined, that if he could contrive to place his daughter-in-law, the Duchess of Saint Maigrin, in the bed of Antoinette, she might promote his designs against his enemy, and obtain for herself the place of tire-woman. This duchess, one of the most beautiful women of the court, was highly worthy to enjoy the post of favourite, which she speedily acquired; but though she gave the most perfect satisfaction in those amorous exploits to which she was destined by her lascivious mistress, her reign was short. A want of political genius led her to spare the Countess' Du Barry—not that she visited her, but she forbore to calumniate her in private, or to insult her in public—her design being to keep two strings to her bow; but, between two stools—the proverb is well known. Suffice it to say, this prudence was disapproved of, and the new lover, in consequence, divorced.

To her succeeded the Duchess of Cosse, who was made tire-woman, at Antoinette's request to the king;

which was accompanied by a particular supplication, that her late lover might be excluded from this post. The third mistress would have experienced more favour and constancy than either of her predecessors, if her serious disposition would have permitted her to consult, somewhat more than she did, Antoinette's taste for vicious pleasures. Their connection finished with the year.

Until the death of Louis, this partiality to women only tended to shew the strength of Antoinette's passions, which might have been gratified more naturally by the other sex. She seemed, for a moment to cast her eyes on the Count of Artois; but, it is asserted, that this prince, who, in other respects seldom displays any reflection, was prudent enough not to run the risk of giving himself a master. Either from this motive, or from the licentious life he now led, nothing further occurred between these relations, than some nocturnal excursions, and harmless sports, of a nature too innocent to satisfy the ardent Antoinette.

During this interval, the Marchioness of Mailly occupied the seat of confidence and intimacy; she made one in all the parties and councils of the queen, to whom she served as a spy, and to whom she retailed all the anecdotes of the court. At length, Count Dilon (surname the Handsome) returned to court, where he had formerly lived in the capacity of a page, and drew all eyes upon him; the queen was not the last to receive the impression, and her advances, as might naturally be supposed, obtained the preference. Dilon, on his part, exerted his utmost efforts to please, and succeeded in the attempt. Silly and unamiable, with nearly a worn out constitution —such was the man who became the hero of the day—a hero, who is a man only in appearance, and who knows of honour nothing but the name. At Spa he was threatened with a caning in the presence of the King of Sweden, and meanly apologized to the

the person who promised him this wholsome correction. Like that Dillon who resided at Bruxelles, his whole merit consists in a handsome person, a polluted mind, and a cowardly heart.

The artful Antoinette soon found the means of insinuating her favourite into the good graces of her foolish husband, who honoured him with peculiar marks of friendship and esteem; at all their card parties, the king was Dillon's banker, and supplied him with money to play with the queen. The count always lost: but though his majesty was not more generous than the rest of the Bourbons, this circumstance seldom displeased him. In short, the connection appeared to him not improper, till a marked indiscretion excited his fears. The queen, at one of those balls which she frequently gave at the palace, and at which she seldom danced with any one but Dillon, pretended to have a violent palpitation at her heart, and flinging herself down on a sofa, begged her husband would apply his hand to the part affected, which he accordingly did; she next desired the count to do the same, and he was bold enough to comply, by placing his hand on her bare bosom, which strongly rose beneath the pressure, beating with fierce desire. The king thinking this was carrying the joke rather too far, his countenance began to lower; but a few kind expressions from his wife, accompanied by a fond embrace, dispelled the gathering storm, and rescued her gallant from the threatened danger. Dillon continued to enjoy the charms of Antoinette, and the king again sunk into his usual state of stupidity.

But Dillon was at length obliged to join his regiment, notwithstanding the queen's efforts to retain him; she had used her utmost interest with the obstinate De Muy for obtaining a farther leave of absence, but in vain. The separation was affecting on both sides; but the Princess of Guemenee soon dried up

the tears of Antoinette; and Dillon consoled himself for her loss, in the arms of a chambermaid.

Antoinette's love for the vigorous and wanton Guemenee was so powerful, as to make the best-informed courtiers imagine that her reign would prove long. Their rendezvous followed each other with astonishing rapidity; they were frequently shut up together for two hours at a time; it seemed impossible to calm the violence of their desires; for, even in public, and in presence of the female domestics, they caressed each other in the most lascivious manner. But Dillon's return from his regiment procured the dismission of his female rival, which he repaid by more substantial joys.

The winter of this year was signalized by amusements of every kind; balls, plays, suppers, and dramatic exhibitions, furnished continual occupation for the royal family, and all who attended them. As soon as it transpired that the queen had no aversion to the male sex, all the noblemen of the court aspired to obtain her. The insipid Marquis of Laval, at one time, believed himself the favoured object; but her majesty only encouraged his hopes, that she might fix her affections elsewhere, with less danger of discovery. Dillon still appeared in the lists; but experience had taught the queen the necessity of a better champion. This was the season for intrigue; and so little regard was paid to decency in her conduct, during that winter, that the prudes of the court thought themselves justified in mentioning the subject to her.

The Princess of Marsan, who knew nothing of love but its pains, and who still lamented the loss of a favoured lover, killed during the campaign of 1744; as well as the Countess of Maurepas, the respectable object of the Abbe de Very's affection, ventured to remonstrate with Antoinette, who listened to them with seeming attention, but, as was to be expected, disregarded their advice.

At

At length Antoinette's wishes were crowned with success; by giving a loose openly to her inclinations in one respect, she imagined she had effectually concealed the real object of her pursuits; she now became pregnant: an event which supplied ample matter for conversation, as the whole court seemed to think themselves interested in it. The Count and Countess of Artois thought the joke a bad one; in short, every one reasoned upon it according to his feelings or caprice, and poor Antoinette was abused on all sides.

This pregnancy was traced back, with a malicious precision of curiosity, to the balls and festivals that were given during her brother's visit to the Court of France. The females whom Antoinette had enjoyed, felt themselves particularly offended; having thought her solely attached to her own sex, they could not easily forgive this instance of inconstancy. The hero of such a glorious exploit was soon discovered; and the Duke of Coigny was universally regarded as the happy man. This amiable nobleman, who was blest with a handsome person, with manners the most insinuating, an advantageous mien, eyes that were eloquent, and with health totally different, in all respects, from that of the exhausted Dilon, had for some time attracted Antoinette's attention. His extreme circumspection would have totally prevented any ill effects from the gratification of her passion, had not her own imprudence rendered it public. The place, the hour, the very moment of conception was known. A masquerade at the Opera-house was recollected, at which the queen appeared in a long grey cloak, accompanied by her women, who wore the very same disguise. The Duke was alone in one of the upper boxes; Antoinette gave her companions the slip, and ran to the place of rendezvous. She had not been gone long ere she was missed, when her women, alarmed, went in search of her, and met her coming out of the box, in such violent agitation, from the

exercise she had just undergone, that she almost fainted away on the stair-case. A woman, who was present, marked the circumstances on her tablets, which were speedily circulated among her acquaintance; and, in a short time, the circumstance was written in every pocket-book about court. The Princess of Guemenee, deemed herself the most insulted, because the most recently possessed by her, commented with such freedom on the subject, that she fell into disgrace, was banished from court, and was succeeded in her post of gouvernante, by the Princess of Marsan.

The queen either regarded her intrigues with the men as an act of necessity, or else pursued them from mere caprice. She could not satisfy her burning desires, without having the object that gave rise to them perpetually with her; wherefore she determined always to have a woman with whom she could live in habits of the strictest intimacy. The Princess of Lamballe had long been her friend, but she was not initiated into her amorous mysteries till after her fracas with Guemenee. The Duchess of Noailles was no sooner placed about the person of Antoinette than her mistress conceived a dislike to her, which was not at all surprising. The consequence was, that the duchess experienced the harshest treatment—but what could dishearten the family of Noailles? Insensible to mortification, and callous to insult, nothing could stop them when in the pursuit of interest. Mrs. Etiquette, adhering to this system, was resolved not to resign her place; and decency forbade her expulsion, without some express fault. A friend of the family good-naturedly advised Antoinette to create a new post in her household, which might reduce that of the duchess to a mere nullity in point of emolument and honour. For this purpose the post of superintendent of the household was created; and, in order to mortify the first lady of honour the more sensibly, it was resolved to give it to some woman

woman of superior rank and birth. The Princess of Lamballe was the person fixed on. Young, lovely, with an elegant form, and a handsome face, she was exempt from passions herself, though possessed of all the charms which could inspire them. This last qualification was sufficient to secure the favour of her mistress, who accordingly resolved to exert herself to the utmost for her.

De Turgot was so stupid as to oppose the additional expence proposed to be incurred by the queen in the department of her household; and his opposition lost him his place. The discontents of her majesty were speedily diffused over the whole palace, and seemed to authorize the complaints of the women against a minister, who, besides many other defects, was known to have no partiality for the fair sex. This cabal was joined by all the other enemies of Turgot—by men, who, as well from a natural love of change, as from motives of interest, did not like to see ministers remain long in place. Antoinette, exerting the authority she maintained over her husband, procured his dismission, and the promotion of her favourite to the appointment she had destined for her, with a salary of about seventeen thousand pounds sterling per annum. Her reign lasted till after the queen's delivery, when, being eclipsed by the Coignys, she prudently withdrew from embraces, whose extreme ardour was incapable of affording her the smallest gratification. Humiliated, however, by the unworthiness of those who were appointed to succeed her, and placing too much reliance on the extent of her credit, she complained of Antoinette's neglect of her to the king himself; who, instead of answering her, burst into a vacant laugh, then ran off to his forge, in order to finish a padlock he had begun the night before, and which was wanted immediately. The haughty Savoyard did not stop there, but applied to her hypocritical father-in-law, who being endued with as much sense as generally

generally falls to the share of devotees, ran to the curate of the parish ; and the worthy pastor promised to mention the matter to the king the first time he came to confession. But as the secrets of confession can never be divulged, we cannot pretend to say what passed on that occasion ; we only know, that the queen's indifference for the princefs daily augmented, though she continued to discharge the duties of her office with equal pride and dignity.

In the mean time, Antoinette's pregnancy advanced ; and though the real author of it was well known, several other fathers were assigned to this much-desired offspring. The king was the only person in the court who remained in doubt on the subject, and conferred on himself the honours of *paternity* ; the best-natured of husbands, the humble lord of the castle of Versailles, picqued himself on the laurels he had thus acquired in the conjugal field, while all his courtiers, to whom the truth was known, applauded the stupidity of the pretended father. Damade, expert in intrigues, and fully acquainted with those of her sister-in-law, had made her husband as wise as herself ; and this studious prince inserted the curious account in his Annals of the reign of his illustrious brother, which contain an exact relation of all his domestic affairs, even of every thing which passed at his forge ; which certainly is not that of Vulcan, as he did not employ it for the fabrication of nets to catch the lovers of his wife, by taking them in the very fact. This erudite production, of the most learned prince of the age, will one day become the chief ornament of his library, as it now serves for a proof of his talents and knowledge.

Antoinette's lying-in was long and painful, at one time her life was in imminent danger ; but her mid-wife, who passed for a blockhead, preserved it by bleeding her, against the opinion of the faculty. Her lovers and her mistresses were all in a state of suspense.

pense. Dillon was at some distance; Coigny scarcely showed his face; and Laval had been sent out of the way;—these three courtiers shuddered at the thoughts of that happiness which might be productive of the most fatal effects. Coigny, whom the people considered as the real father, had, more than once, changed colour, when witnessing those ridiculous effusions of joy which the monarch displayed on fondling his new-born offspring; then, anxious to imitate Henry the Fourth (that respectable hero whom he flattered himself he resembled, because the stupid public, in a moment of madness and adulation, made the absurd comparison) shewed it to the assembly with an air of exultation; and, addressing himself to the president of the parliament, joyfully exclaimed, “Look at me, Sir, and inform me whether this girl is not mine?”

On the queen's recovery, the amusements of Versailles were changed from balls and plays to perambulations, and particularly to *nocturnal* excursions. As the fine weather came on, they assembled, at the approach of night, on the southern terrace of the castle. The whole town was present, women of every class partook of these diversions, and joined in one general scene of debauchery. No distinctions were enforced; the highest mixed indiscriminately with the lowest, and all was obscurity. At length they began to disguise themselves; the queen, her two brothers-in-law, and their parasites, frequented the terrace, and visited the bowers; the women were entirely concealed beneath long cloaks, and the men wore great coats, and large hats slouched over their faces: they walked together for a while, then separated—and all went right in the best of all possible worlds.

The scene was heightened by the music of the guards, who played the most lascivious tunes, for two hours together, beneath the windows of the castle. Biron, their commander, never suffered any opportunity of displaying his servility to escape; that hero

hero of the opera, who lent his soldiers out to fight with the buffoons of the stage, because he partook of the fruits of their labour; who degraded his profession by such a prostitution; who sold the vacant commissions of his corps to the highest bidder, and the most wealthy candidate, a corps in which the marquis was ranked with the tradesman; and the sons of bankers placed on a level with earls and ennobled cits; that Biron, in short, who was fit for nothing but to regulate a procession of hackney coaches, was the best informed of all the courtiers, respecting every thing which passed during these nocturnal excursions, by means of his centinels, whom he employed as spies; and the use he made of his information was such as rendered his secrecy profitable to him.

Antoinette's anxious search of adventures, and her success in meeting with them, are equally surprising. An officer of the body-guard meeting her, and not knowing her in her disguise, took her by the arm, and led her to a recess: on the way his language was such as the fiercest desire naturally dictated; and, finding it not ill received, the moment they arrived at the destined spot, he prepared for that *conflict* which he justly thought his fair adversary had no objection to sustain; one hand had already pressed her bare and throbbing bosom, and the other, more enterprizing, was rapidly advancing in quest of hidden charms, when a sudden impulse of prudence, in the bosom of Antoinette, checked the violent emotions of passion, and, deeming the place unfit for those hallowed rites which she never celebrated, but with the most enthusiastic ardour, she extricated herself from the disappointed hero, and rushed from the bower. Her fears were well founded; for the officer was noticed, and the next day received orders to retire to his estate in Normandy, and never more to appear at court.

Soon after this, Antoinette, alternately led away  
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by her passion for women, and her desire of having children, met a woman on the terrace, who was tall, well shaped, and had some appearance of elegance. She immediately accosted her; and the other, mistaking her for one of her friends, took her by the arm, and as they walked along, entered into conversation on the ladies of the court, not forgetting the queen herself, whose character she touched on, though but slightly. Antoinette, pleased with her appearance and wit, conceived a passion for her, and appointed a meeting, at the same hour, the next day. When she left her, she ordered her to be watched home, that she might be informed who she was; but what were her mortification and surprise, when she learned that the captivating beauty (the thought of whose charms had kept her awake the whole night, and with whom she had promised herself the enjoyment of pleasures unknown to the rest of her sex) was no other than the dirty, ugly, disgusting Manon Luostenau, who had ten years been married to a nephew of the curate of the parish, named Desons, who having got her with child first, was for that act forced to espouse her! This unfortunate woman was punctual to her appointment, but the reception she experienced soon convinced her she had been mistaken for another. Though the adventure did not redound much to the honour of Mrs. Desons, her proneness to loquacity led her to divulge it; and it was from her own mouth that the author of this work received the anecdote.

Antoinette, another time, accosted a young man, who appeared to her, by the light of the moon, to have a good person; nor was she now deceived. The youth in question was a true child of Love, and beauteous as his parent; he had just obtained the place of a clerk in the War Office, through the interest of a countess, who was his mother, but who his father was always remained in doubt. Full of mildness and sensibility, bashful and timid, he was far from  
guessing

guessing at the rank of the person with whom he had the honour of speaking. Antoinette having questioned him for some time as to the state of his heart, was enraptured with the ingenuousness of his answers; she stroked his chin, and found it clad with the soft down of early virility. The smoothness of his skin convinced her that he was rapidly approaching to manhood; and her ideas were soon confirmed by his confession, that he was but in his eighteenth year, and had, as yet known nothing of love but the name. Notwithstanding the timidity and embarrassment of his new Adonis, he displayed a certain portion of wit in his conversation. In short, his face, his shape, and even the tone of his voice, having captivated the queen, and made the most violent impression on her heart, she left him, without making herself known, and appointed a meeting for the following day.

It is well known that love and sleep are mostly at variance. The same passion which had made a rapid progress beneath the gilded roof of Antoinette's palace, had pursued our youth into his humble retirement. The adventure, at first, had only excited astonishment in his mind, but it very soon raised the warmest sensations in his bosom. Youth and nature made him now perceive, that he had hitherto existed in a state of nullity, for which he was not designed, or rather, that he had not yet existed at all. He did not close his eyes during the whole night. The next day appeared an age to him;—distraction, ennui, discouragement, and a kind of uneasiness, which he had never before experienced, took possession of his senses, and absorbed all his ideas, till the happy moment arrived when he set out to meet the object who had occasioned all his anxiety. The same sensations occupied Antoinette—with the exception of enjoyment—the delights of which she was well acquainted with; but which only served to increase her impatience. She first took proper means for learning

learning who this hero was, and the information she obtained determined her to take advantage of the happy opportunity which Love had procured her. The necessary arrangements were accordingly made—with the assistance of her valet-de-chambre Campan, the confidant of her pleasures, a man well-skilled in the interpretation of wishes and half-uttered sentences, and who was careful to manage matters agreeably to the will of his amorous and impatient mistress.

It has not been determined which of the lovers arrived first at the place of rendezvous—when they met, a mutual exclamation of joy was heard, and they impetuously rushed into each other's arms. Their expressions were interrupted by sighs, their lips glued together; and they mutually vowed love, even before a declaration had taken place. Antoinette, to whom the smallest delay might have proved equally dangerous and prejudicial, led her lover to a private recess, voluptuously prepared for their reception by the accommodating Campan. She there gave full scope to her desires, instructed her young hero in all the arts of sensuality, and received the first fruits of his manhood, as the reward of her care. His extreme eagerness, notwithstanding Antoinette's efforts to direct his attacks, caused her a momentary disappointment; the powerful emotions, excited by the novelty of our young hero's situation—and wound up as he was by the enrapturing *figure* before him—occasioned too precipitately the yielding that *tribute* which the lover cannot refuse when overcome by the soft impulse of desire. Instead, however, of quenching the fire, it only served to augment the flame, which now raged with ungovernable fury; and, before Antoinette could lament the recent loss which her lover's ardour had produced, he recommenced his endearments, and conducted himself with such forcible propriety, that at length even *her* desires were fully satisfied.

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They now joined the company. The trembling lover stood in need of encouragement; and the fond Antoinette bestowed it with such adroitness, as soon dissipated his fears, and put it in his power to answer her numerous questions. Intrigue now usurped the place of love. Antoinette had long been anxious to procure the dismission of the Secretary at War; she questioned her lover with regard to him, and to his mistress, La Renard; enquired into the nature of those frequent orgies, the effects of which always confined that minister to his bed for several days; and sought to obtain every kind of information that could possibly tend to the furtherance of her plan. The youth displayed great skill and prudence in his answers; besides, he had been too recently appointed to his place to be initiated into the mysteries of the office. Of this she was aware, and therefore charged him to be particular in his enquiries, and to make her acquainted with the result. It was necessary, before they parted, to adopt some mode of meeting in future, as the adventure of the bower might be attended with danger to the new Adonis. Campan was consulted; and this ingenious pander conceived the idea of employing him as a copyist of music for the queen. He promised to be their only messenger, and gave them ample instructions for the composition of a new species of music; which was intelligible only to those who were furnished with a key to it.

During these amusements, the Count and Countess of Artois did not remain idle spectators. It was then that Monsieur formed his connection with De Terrage; and, upon the happy turfs of Versailles, forsook his grandeur for the crook of the Shepherd Thyasis—which was the name by which he was known on the Terrace.

Equally inconstant to her lovers and her mistresses, it was not long before Antoinette dismissed the Duke of Coigny. She justified her conduct in this respect

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by a multitude of reasons; but people talked so openly and so loudly on the matter, that it was feared the king might be led to the adoption of some violent measure. The physical certainty of this connection had furnished irresistible proofs against the queen, who began to be alarmed for the consequences. What made most against the duke was, that the queen had only produced a daughter, which was not her object; her wishes were yet unfulfilled, as was the motive which urged her to hazard so dangerous a step. The duke was disgraced; and the queen—though she continued the connection she had formed in the recesses—returned to her natural taste for her own sex.

The Princess of Lamballe was succeeded by De Polignac—who was called the Countess Jule. This passion had no example, in point of ardour and duration, except in that of Louis for Pompadour;—like her, the countess cost the kingdom immense sums. Pompadour had her lovers; Jule lives publicly with the Count of Vaudreuil \*, and, what is singular, he was as well received by the king and queen as by the countess herself. The former pardoned her august lover his occasional inconstancy, and even became the pander of his pleasures. The latter was equally favourable to Antoinette, for whom she recently procured the pretty Laborde, (wife to the king's old valet-de-chambre) who was

\* Fortune decreed this lady should be *ravished*. By nature careless and indolent, she never would have aspired to the conquest of a queen, if that queen had not sought her. She was one of those who prefer peace to virtue, and submit to avoid the trouble of resistance. Cast into the vortex of the world, loaded with the bounty of kings, assailed by the importunity of suitors, and overwhelmed with favour, she had often lamented the cruelty of her fate. Vaudreuil pleased her, because, instead of requiring her affection, he persuaded her that he loved her. He possessed neither the superiority which humiliates, nor the mediocrity which alarms. A sound understanding, and a knowledge of the world, supplied the want of those qualifications which are deemed essential to secure distinction with the fair.

appointed reader to the queen. Pompadour sold places, benefices, bishoprics, &c. and kept a regular office, and a head clerk, for that purpose. Jule did the same; Vaudreuil acted as her minister. The first decorated her brother with a blue ribband, and enriched her family; the latter is not less industrious in the distribution of honours and riches: she began with her husband, whom she had made a duke; her daughter had just married the son of the duchess of Grammont; wealth and favour were the harbingers of this union; and her son-in-law had been created a duke, and obtained a commission in the king's guards.—In short, the influence of this family was arrived at such an indecent height, that to ask was to receive; and whoever applied for a place of any kind, was sure to encounter them on his road.

The winter after this new connection was passed, like the preceding, in plays, balls, and gaming. The queen, about this time, chose Berin, the milliner, for her agent—a woman equally skilful in intrigue with Berin the minister, and the other Berin too, though related to neither of them—with her she did business in the same manner as her august husband transacted his with his Ministers of State. Guimard was another of her female ministers, and presided over the department of gauzes and personal decorations \*. The affairs of France would have been in

\* This, indeed, was her *nominal* office, but she had an employment far superior. No priestess of Venus was better skilled in celebrating the rites of her favourite goddess than she. For thirty years she offered her devotions at that shrine with such a variety of objects, and with such fervour and assiduity, that she knew more than the generality of her votaries. The queen made her recite her inexhaustible stock of adventures, and relate every thing novel she had learnt from her lovers, in the amorous conflict. Warmed by her recitals, Antoinette always left her, in order to practise, by repeating her lessons with that crowd of lovers, who were always at hand to administer to her wants.

a prosperous

a prosperous condition, had the king, her husband, displayed equal abilities in the choice of his ministers as the queen did in the choice of her's; for the greatest statesmen of Europe appeared to a disadvantage, when compared with these female agents. The milliner, elated by the royal favour, forgot her station, and even her interest; not an article in her shop could be purchased, till her majesty had seen it, to whom she vauntingly said, it was her duty to give the preference. On these occasions, the tone of dignity she assumed was ridiculous. Guimard did not assume so much importance; but her success was not less brilliant; for the most elegant votary of Venus in all Paris was not more *characteristically* dressed than Antoinette, under the experienced hands of Guimard.

It was found expedient to alter their summer amusements; those of the Terrace having produced some disagreeable circumstances; and Antoinette having heard, beneath her disguise, some pointed animadversions which terrified and alarmed her. Her two brothers-in-law had profited by the occasion to attempt making new conquests; little Beche, and others of the same stamp, had fallen victims of their licentiousness; but the husbands of these fair voluptuaries having found convincing proofs of their infidelity, were so ill-bred as to keep them at home, incurring thereby the censure of the whole court.

These pleasures, therefore, were changed for sports more innocent and private. They began by forbidding the public to walk in the Park after supper; they then ordered some of the arbours to be dimly lighted; in one of which they erected a throne of turf, and played at King, just as little girls play at school-mistresses. They elected a monarch, who held a court, gave audiences, and administered justice to his subjects, represented by the courtiers, the committee, and the king and queen, who stripped themselves of their royalty on these occasions. Com-

plaints the most singular were exhibited to the new monarch; and rewards and punishments, not less extraordinary, were distributed by him; when, after a short time passed in these frivolous employments, his majesty, who was generally Vaudreuil, took it in his head to make marriages. He married the king to a woman of the court, and the queen to one of the men (though it was remarked that he mostly took her himself) and having coupled the rest of the company in the same manner, he made them approach the foot of the throne, in pairs, ordering each husband to take his wife by the hand; and there, with the respect due to this new kind of sacrament, and to the new monarch who acted the sacerdotal part, they waited for the signal, which was "DECAMPATIVOS." The moment it was pronounced, each couple hastily ran off to one of the arbours, while the King of the Turf ordered them not to return to the royal saloon before the expiration of two hours; to avoid each other with the utmost care; and to go no more than one couple together. Louis was highly delighted with this amusement, and thought it very amusing to be thus dethroned upon the grafts by Vaudreuil.

It was intended that the queen should go to the baths this year, in order to promote a second pregnancy; but the physicians were all of opinion that the *Decampativos* would prove more efficacious. Besides, M. Neckar, who was not fond of journeys, and dreaded expence, having been consulted on the occasion, observed; that, although the mock monarch of the night cost the state almost as much as if he were monarch of the day, it was better to adhere to this system, for the purpose of procuring an heir to the throne, who must necessarily be a great additional expence, wherever, and by whomever, he was begotten.

These little *innocent* diversions, it was said, gave the king an inclination to attempt rivaling some other

other husband. He imparted his wish to one of those officious panders by whom he was surrounded; and who only waited for the signal of their master's desire, to procure its instant gratification. He was speedily introduced to a femme-de-chambre of Damme, a pretty simple girl, who was, in all respects, fit for the dirty part she was now to act. She received his insipid caresses with respect; and, as she had no passions to gratify, she was not disappointed at the feebleness of the attack she was doomed to sustain. The king, on his part, exhibited, on this occasion, the same spirit, the same grace, and the same delicacy, as on every other. His mechanical attempt was but just finished, when the company entered the room, and found him adjusting that part of his dress which was necessarily most discomposed; and laughing, in that elegant and agreeable manner so peculiar to him, at the breach he had been making in his conjugal vow.

In the midst of these pleasures, the Countess Jule was brought to bed. As soon as this event was announced, the court went to pass a week at La Muette, in order that the queen might be nearer to her friend, who chose to lye-in at Vaudreuil's apartments at Paris. There Antoinette attended her with the most anxious care, scarce ever quitting her bed-side, and taking upon her the office of a nurse. Those who were ignorant of the intrigues of the court, thought it strange that the countess should not have chose the castle of Versailles as the place of her lying-in, since it appeared to them more natural that she should consult the queen's convenience, rather than her own. But these were not aware, that such an arrangement would not have been so convenient; and, that Antoinette's frequent journeys to Paris, and her visits to Jule, had an object, which could not have been otherwise attained.—“ Jule has been delivered of a boy; Vaudreuil therefore knows how to get boys, Coigny only gets girls.—*Erga, erga.....*

Jule

Jule procured me the enjoyment of the little La-borde; she will be equally kind with respect to Vaudreuil, particularly during her lying-in, when she can have no occasion for him; besides, what will not a woman do to preserve the favour of her lover, and her queen? The result of all this will be, that I shall have a Dauphin. I think I shall be no false prophet — he will resemble the king as much as the princess does, whom he shows to every body as a perfect model of himself, and whom he loves solely on that account." Such were the secret reflections of Antoinette.

While the queen was waiting for the accomplishment of her wishes, she made the countess a present of three thousand louis d'ors, towards the expences of her lying-in; and the king himself gave her as much. It was also the intention of Antoinette to present her favourite with the duchy of Maine, a trifle worth about sixty thousand pounds; but Neckar, who was a perfect connoisseur in such matters, firmly opposed it. However, he soon perceived his error, and the disgrace of Turgot occurring to his mind; and, having a particular attachment to his place, from whence the countess threatened his removal, he repaired the effects of his ill-timed zeal, by advising the queen to make her favourite a gift of one hundred and twenty-five thousand pounds, in lieu of the duchy in question.

At length the countess having recovered from her lying-in, the circumstances attending the visits of Antoinette, had given rise to a variety of remarks. The Parisian, accustomed to respect the dignity of his sovereign, and the splendour which distinguished the throne, could not, without indignation, behold in the favourite that shameful abuse of favours so basely acquired; and, in the queen, the degrading profanation of royalty. He could not hear, without a murmur, of the profusion displayed in gratuities to the favourite, to her dependants, and friends,

friends, at a time when a diminution of national credit, and a burthensome war, rendered money so scarce, and the means of raising it so difficult. Such, however, was the ascendancy of Jule over Antoinette, that, being ordered by her physicians to confine herself to the house longer than is usual on such occasions, the queen had several apartments fitted up for herself under the same roof, into which none were admitted but those who were destined to form her court. Even the king was seldom permitted to these apartments, but when she wanted to obtain something from him. In this select assembly the most important affairs of government were discussed. Peace and war, matters of revenue, honours and rewards, were there finally decided, and the king was only called in to ratify their decisions, for mere form's sake; so certain was the queen of obtaining all she chose to ask. Sometimes, indeed, his majesty, astonished at the propositions and proceedings of this ridiculous groupe, would wish to consult the old count; but he was mostly prevented, or, if not, a word from Antoinette had such effect on that pusillanimous minister, that he dared not to thwart her plans. On these occasions the count was *silent*; and the good king, always regarding silence as a token of consent, joyfully hastened back to his wife, where, laughing, he gave the required ratification.

Vaudreuil\* and Bezenval were the male, Jule

\* Vaudreuil, by birth a Swiss, had met with all the success due to the most skilful courtier. The Mentor of Segur, the creature of Choiseul, the lover of all young favourites—whether male or female; being equally versed in the mysteries of either worship. An amiable *Sybante*, fond of good living, and of voluptuous paintings, endowed by nature with but a small portion of sense, but possessed of rather superior talents, acquired by the force of observation. His personal accomplishments introduced him at court, where he continued to shine by the extent of his merit, and to make his way by cheerfulness and gaiety. He had his share of vices, but knew how to conceal them. Besides, good nature, joined with success, has irresistible charms.

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and the Duchess of Grammont, the female presidents of this curious council, to which Mrs. Desmiane was secretary, as being entrusted with the foreign department. It may be thought necessary here to give the portraits of those beings, who thus directed the state, and managed the most important affairs of government with the same facility and coolness they would display in giving orders for some trivial decoration for their persons.

Vaudreuil had no recommendation but the name of his father, nor any fortune but what he acquired as Governor of St. Domingo. Fond of political intrigues, without sense to comprehend, or skill to direct them; sacrificing every thing to pleasure, and nothing to business: while he pursued Fortune with alacrity, his worthlessness always induced her to shun him; but he no sooner changed his plan, and treated her with neglect, than the fickle goddess heaped her favours upon him, and he soon became the intimate of the king, the queen, and the favourite.

Bezenval was one of those whose ideas were solely guided by circumstances. An egotist, naturally severe and ambitious, but occasionally supple and grovelling, he had quitted the urbanity of his countrymen, for the intriguing airs of a court. It was he who dared to enter the lists with Count Affry; whose post he was ambitious to obtain. If he did not meet with all the success with which his ambition flattered him, his application, at least, made the respectable Affry experience numberless mortifications from the Count of Artois, as colonel of the guards—mortifications which the old soldier felt more sensibly, as he was conscious of not deserving them, and had no opportunity of resisting, since Antoinette was the directress of the plan, and the Count of Artois only the instrument. Bezenval had ever been known to accommodate himself to the times; at the court of Louis xv. he appeared as a debauchee, as a servile courtier;

courtier ; at that of his successor, he commenced a man of intrigue, flattered the caprice of an inexperienced princess ; detested Monsieur and his wife, because they were objects of aversion to the queen ; soothed the Count of Artois (while he despised his wife from a similar motive) ; inveighed, in insolent terms, against all whom interest did not lead him to commend ;—in short, he was become so notorious, that he was always distinguished at court by the appellation of Porter of the Queen's Palace of Pleasure.

That eternal prater Ademar, was another member of this cabal. He was ambitious, because he had been told that he should be so. Determined to be minister at all events, although destitute of every talent that was requisite for that purpose, equally devoid of acquired knowledge as of natural abilities ; he was unworthy, even, of being appointed ambassador to the Low Countries, from whence he would doubtless have been long since recalled, but for the intrigues and credit of his wife, who, like the Noailles's, spared no pains to forward the views of her husband, whose worth she knew, and for whom she never professed a violent fondness, but when she was at a distance from him.

Next on the list stood the Count of Polignac, who was as stupid as one of his predecessors (of the same name) celebrated by the late Duchess of Orleans in her farewell-song, which she called her last will and testament, wherein she complimented him on his abilities as a *lover*, at the expence of his understanding.

Then following the Prince of Henin, the most despicable, and the most despised, of the whole junto, A Chevalier de Crussol, an artful hypocrite, who preached virtue, and practised the reverse. He suffered the honours and benefices belonging to the order of Malta to be sold to the Baroness of Grosler, with whom he had long lived, keeping her in one of the queen's apartments in the Thuilleries, while her husband

husband politely remained in the country. The chevalier was master, in an eminent degree, of all those resources which spring from the vices ever attendant on hypocrisy; at one time he engaged Mrs. Flamarin to cajole the old minister; at another the Bishop of Senlis, whom he gained by the smoothness of his tongue. He thus employed both sacred and profane—nothing, in short, came amiss to him, that could possibly tend to secure success to his measures. A-propos to the bishop—Having been long fascinated by the delightful bosom of Mrs. Duras, he was at length tempted to make trial whether all he saw was real. Perceiving that the lady was solely indebted to Nature for those delightful charms, the curious prelate was induced to pursue his investigation, whether Nature had been equally bountiful in other respects. Meeting with no opposition, he proceeded yet greater lengths; and the lady was so much charmed with his zeal and ability, that she resolved to give him a lasting proof of her affection. This was no other than a bouncing boy, whom M. Duras consented to father, in consideration of a present from the bishop of four thousand pounds.

Dilon Coigny, and the Abbe de Vermont\*, were admitted into Jule's committee, for the sake of their votes. Campan—the illustrious Campan—a being of great importance, although he was the son of a footman, and had the honour of wearing a livery himself; a circumstance which he had so frequently forgotten—this Campan was perpetual secretary of the committee, of the cabinet, and even of the wardrobe. It was to him that the queen was indebted for the invention of giving her orders and assignations in music. Of the music which Campan was employed

\* This ecclesiastic, equally infamous and stupid, was the author of a number of evils, the terrible list of which was concealed by our too timid historians. Alternately employed as agent, and spy, he checked the rising dictates of remorse, and marred the salutary effects of repentance.

to carry to the child of Love before-mentioned, under pretence of getting it copied ; there were always some lines composed and written by Antoinette herself, in the Oriental style, which was known only to the two lovers ; and, as Cupid has a key to the whole, he has that which is most required and best understood. This invention appeared to Campan to be a master-piece ; besides, he thought that, for a man like him, it was *more decent, and less dangerous,* to carry a few pages of music to be copied than to take charge of a billet-doux, which might prove equally perilous to *secretary and bearer.* This accommodating go-between carried the music to be copied, waited on the stair-case for an answer, introduced the copyist into Antoinette's private apartment, guarded the door, and smoothed the bed.

Though these messages were conducted with all possible secrecy, they did not pass unnoticed. Those who were best skilled in intrigue, ascribed the *object* of them to Mrs. de Chaliton, who had been attached to the house of Artois. This woman, it was observed, was ill calculated for the place she enjoyed, to which she had been raised by the interest of the Marquis of Entragues, who had known her at Besançon. This artful courtier had never appeared in the business himself, but suffered the public suspicions to fall on his friend, the Prince of Montbarey—a minister who, after being long exposed to the *artifices* of the queen and her brother-in-law, at length became an object of hatred to the courtiers of both parties. Not content with animadverting on his ministerial conduct, his domestic affairs, and even his most private actions, were equally exposed to their malignant criticism. It was true that this minister, too much unaccustomed to the conducting public affairs, for serving his sovereign and his country with effect, sometimes neglected them for the enjoyment of indecent pleasures. A *fille-de-joie*, and one of the lowest rank, had acquired such an ascendancy

over him, as to make him commit the greatest absurdities. One Daudet, a wretch polluted with a thousand crimes, but loaded by the minister with favours, and even appointed to a place of honour and emolument, continually brought him into some dilemma, and his wife also, who was passionately fond of him. This rascal publicly sold the prince's favours, and the employments which he had the art to procure from him ; and, at last, his impudence arose to such a pitch, that he gave audiences in his master's house. Bezenval had surrounded the arsenal with spies, and informed the committee of every thing he had learned ; the consequence of which was, a resolution for the prince's dismission. They well knew the smallest affront would suffice to make him resign, although certain of the support of *Maurepas* and *Vergennes* : they accordingly took an opportunity of insulting him, and he gave up his place with dignity and coolness.

The triumph of the cabal was now complete ; and they began to intrigue for the appointment of a Secretary of War. Some of them insisted on appointing the Duke of Chatelet ; others chose Caraman, De Castris, Jaucourt, Bezenval, and even Ademar aspired to this office. After much deliberation, their choice fell on one who was the least fit for it of any. The Marquis of Segur was chosen, and immediately introduced to the council. This minister was a servile agent of Antoinette's, to whose commands he paid most implicit obedience, while he affected an extraordinary degree of severity towards every one else. His constant answer to those ladies who solicited an audience, was, he felt himself too weak, too susceptible of temptation, to risk a *tête-à-tête* ; and that, even the perusal of their billets-doux inspired him with dread. He sought to acquire a reputation himself, by destroying that of his predecessor, and by the common mode of undoing whatever he had done. Indeed, such was the influence of habit

bit in France, that a system of regular mismanagement appeared to be adopted, the correction of which would prove a task of infinite difficulty.

From the frequentation of theatrical exhibitions; from the numerous excursions of pleasure; from occasional jaunts to Trianon; or from the secret interviews, procured and conducted by Campan—the queen became a second time pregnant. The mode of promulgating this event was truly singular. It was well known how cordially Antoinette hated Maurepas, the old countess his wife, the Abbe de Verry, Mrs. Sreguin, and the rest of that party. Of this the ancient couple were fully aware, and therefore acted with a degree of political circumspection which they thought would screen them from her intrigues. At the very moment when a reconciliation between them appeared farther off than ever, the count was surprised by a visit from the queen. "Good day, Papa!" said she; "you are certainly astonished at seeing me here." The countess, as much from respect, as to free the queen from all constraint during the interview, made a motion to retire; but Antoinette, perceiving her intention, immediately prevented her, saying, "No, you must not leave us; I have need for you both: indeed, what I have to entrust to papa, concerns you more than him. I rely on your friendship; do you rely on mine. Let us forget the past, and in future form a strict union, that may equally tend to support our respective measures. I now know your attachment to me; and the coolness I have been sometimes induced to display towards you, proceeded merely from the misrepresentations of those who persuaded me that you disliked me. My heart never had a share in it; and this my conduct shall henceforward prove." She then embraced the count, and exclaimed—"My dear count, I am with child; and, what will astonish you is, my anxiety to know whether the king will be pleased, or whether he won't be much enraged. That prude

Edamad, and her insipid husband, are those whose reflections I most dread. They will likewise set the ridiculous Countess of Artois a prating.—Oh! what will they not say?—For, I must confess, my good friends, that there is an ample field for discussion; but the deed is done, I did it for the best; and if I may rely on both of you, I have nothing to fear.” Here Antoinette threw herself upon a couch, and appeared to be overcome with apprehension. The old Mentor ran to her, and they both swore to obey her in every thing. The queen then recovered herself and proceeded:—“ Bezenval has ruined me by his advice. He excited my anger against you, by saying that your authority would become greater than mine; that I could neither expect to govern the king, nor to regain the affection of my people, but by giving birth to a prince. At first I did not listen to him; but Vaudreuil and Coigny enforced the same sentiments. My attendants heard what they said on this subject; Campan and Bazin assailed me with their tears. Ademar and his wife too deceived me, by assuring me that it was the only possible mode of rescuing myself from destruction. My Jule persuaded me, that my august husband began—like all his subjects—to be disgusted with me, and that it was absolutely requisite to play this game. In short, my dear friends, I confess to you, Coigny, Dilon, Campan, Bezenval, Bazin, a clerk in the War Office, and several others, have been intimate with me; the result of which is, I am now breeding; and, with your assistance, the king will be pleased with the circumstance.”

“ Make yourself easy,” replied the countess; “ he shall be pleased, nay, he shall be delighted with it, it constitutes his honour and glory, and the good of his kingdom. Count, speak to his majesty; exert all your influence over his mind, and display all your eloquence on this occasion. Affect no pleasantries, preserve your dignity, and recollect that this event requires

requires you to be serious." The queen resolved to improve this favourable moment, took the countess and the count to sup with her, and gave them such marks of attention and preference, that the countess was half distracted. The courtiers, who witnessed this reconciliation, without knowing the cause, were no less astonished, especially those who had before received orders to expose the countess to contempt and ridicule.

The first court day the count took an opportunity, when the king and he were alone, to mention the matter to him. It is true the task was easy to persuade his majesty that he was "the author of the deed," and he exclaimed—"Yes, yes, it was what I expected; for I was more than two hours in bed with her!" Since that time the king assumed a more important air; the queen recovered her influence, called the count her dear minister; and paid great attention to the Count Agenois. Monsieur and his wife appeared to be the only persons who were displeased at this event; and their anger was said to be founded on their knowledge of its origin, procured by means of spies. Free from all apprehension from her husband, Antoinette returned to her former courses, to the same inconsistent line of conduct. She profited by her situation, to act as she pleased. The ministers were all subservient to her, except Vergennes, who alone had the virtue to resist. She could not, however, prevent the fall of Neckar, who, from a multitude of errors, the offspring of vanity and ignorance, had been dismissed, and was succeeded by old Fleury, a counsellor of state, at least as incapable as his predecessor of presiding over the department of finance. In short, folly, and the grossest debauchery, now prevailed at the court of France. That rigid line of conduct which was attempted to be established at the beginning of the reign, was totally laid aside; Richelieu was again predominant, and declared that, before he died, he was resolved to

give the king a mistress, a public lover to the queen, to the Count of Artois a brothel, a stallion to Edamad, and a harlot to her husband. The queen herself loved the old man, laughed at his absurdities, and enjoyed his tales of obscenity and scandal.

Antoinette advanced in her pregnancy; her size was astonishing; her bosom enormous; and she was so proud of its beauty, that she always took pains to expose it to public view. It was strange that her pregnancy was not declared formally, as was customary at the expiration of four months and an half; it seemed as if they were fearful of publishing this event. The animosity between Antoinette and Edamad still subsisted; Lamballe was kept aloof; Jule was enjoyed; and Simiane and Laborde were in constant exercise. The indiscretion of one of these tools of the queen's voluptuousness discovered a disorder which gave serious apprehensions for her safety at the approaching labour. This was a falling of the *matrix*, occasioned either by excess of debauchery, or by the unskilfulness of the midwife on the former occasion. Nivernois had composed a tale on the subject of her pregnancy. He was still as deceitful as Marshal Darus; the Cecisbeo of all the wantons of the town, ugly in person, weak in mind, and destitute of every qualification that could ensure consequence, or command respect. Of this illustrious crew was the queen's party composed; to which should be added a long list of sharpers and gamblers, together with Chalabre and Poincot bankers. Among the women were little Iners, young Campan, together with some musicians and singers. Thus was the dignity of the throne of France maintained by the daughter of the famous Maria Therese, and by the sister of the celebrated Joseph.

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CONTINUATION  
OF THE  
HISTORY.

*Supposed to have been written by*

MARIE ANTIONETTE.

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THE eyes of the whole world are, at this moment, fixed on me. Such is the lot of the great. Responsible for their actions to the multitude, wisdom and prudence should ever mark their steps.—Woe to that sovereign who, forsaking the paths of virtue, consigns herself to public execration, and nothing around her is heard but the voice of indignation, and the exclamation of hatred! My ears are assailed by the cries of grief; my death is the wish of a whole people, who have been oppressed by the impropriety of my conduct; and even foreigners pronounce my name with horror! On all sides I behold the image of despair. What a dreadful situation is mine!—But alas! I have deserved it too well!

A husband basely dishonoured, children reproached with the defect in their birth, by the voice of the public; a kingdom overturned, a nation plundered, ministers persecuted, the public treasury pillaged, princes seduced, confidence betrayed, the shocking spectacle of citizens inhumanly massacred, a monstrous assemblage, in short, of unheard of vices and crimes.—Such, Antionette, is the work of thy hands!—Such are the virtues with which you add a lustre to the throne!

But,

But, my mother, all this you foresaw.—Even at my birth, I was infected with the poison of hatred; you detested the French, and received the completest satisfaction from the sight of those evils, which my natural disposition, improved by age, led me to inflict on them.

The annals of your reign are well calculated to mislead posterity with regard to your virtues; the name of Maria Theresa was pronounced with veneration and respect; your affected devotion was universally admired, and the ignorance of your subjects, led away by gross superstition and fanatical error, urged them to prostrate themselves before the hypocritical mask which concealed your destructive projects. In my earliest years I exhibited signs of what I should one day become. How could the French politicians mistake my character? What could induce them to adopt, as their future queen, a woman already dishonoured, who had sacrificed her innocence and purity, whose heart was polluted by debauchery, and whose reputation was such as ought to have effectually excluded her from the illustrious rank which she now enjoys?

Catherine of Medicis, Agrippina, Cleopatra, Messalina,—my crimes exceed yours; and if the remembrance of your infamy still excites horror, and the detail of it occasions an effusion of tears, what sentiments will arise from a knowledge of the lascivious life of Antoinette! The titles bestowed on me by the voice of justice, are those of an adulterous wife, a barbarous queen, and a female contaminated by debauchery. Devoid of pity for the unfortunate, never did the public misery excite the smallest sentiment of compassion in my bosom. Excess of dissipation, unbridled desires, the most frivolous amusements converted into the most serious occupations, libertinism and indecency, characterize the first years of a marriage contracted under the most flattering auspices. The first part of my life contains a

detail

detail of the various events to which a compliance with the dictates of inclination gave rise. The second will confirm the idea that the nation can have no rational grounds for expecting my return to virtue. I shall be obliged sometimes to refer to past circumstances; but I am resolved not to omit one transaction.

On my arrival in France, then, Paris and the court presented to my sight a scene of luxury that would have alarmed any woman but myself; coquettish, warm, and impassioned, I enjoyed it without reserve; and the enormous expence I incurred soon convinced the few people of sense in the kingdom, that a continuation of the same conduct would certainly involve the whole nation in ruin.

Grandpapa (for so I had distinguished Louis xv.) was reduced by this time to a mere machine, whose secret springs were only known to his infamous mistress Du Barry, who guided all his actions. Richlieu, that animal, infected by every disorder which the most disgusting libertinism could occasion, presided over the pleasures of the court. Secret agent of the scandalous orgies of his sovereign, he took advantage of that monarch's humiliating lethargy, to issue and enforce the most arbitrary and tyrannical laws.

My august husband, shocked at these shameful abuses of power, and disgusted at the inutility of his exhortations, had just broken off all commerce with those who imitated the conduct of Grandpapa. My brother-in-law, now Monsieur, was only guided, during the decline of the monarchy, by the dictates of intemperance, and the suggestions of self-interest.

The Count of Artois, whom I at first despised, and who has since, by a caprice common to my sex, become my lover and my favourite, aspired to no other honour than that of uniting in himself the office of protector of all the debauchees at court.

The most celebrated frail-ones were his dearest dulcineas;

dulcinea; without choice or distinction, this youthful Sultan, despised in his own seraglio by the grovelling slaves of his obscene pleasures, has thrown his handkerchief at the most abandoned of these modern Laïs's.

In this vortex of folly and dissipation, a fine woman, or a fine horse, would ensure success to those who solicited places, honours, or rewards; and such was the rage, and so general had it become, that whoever dared to mention the smallest defect, either in the count's racer or in his favourite mistress, would certainly have been sent by Sartine to the Bastile, as a state-criminal. Yet these puerilities were almost the sole topics of discourse, and indeed the court afforded no other.

Aiguillon wielded the rod of tyranny and oppression, with a degree of severity which, at any other time, would have cost him dear; but how could the king refuse to protect him from the indignation of the parliament, when he had been commanded so to do by his mistress, to whom he was subservient.

The Abbe Terray pillaged the kingdom; for the post of comptroller has always served as a lure to rogues, and since the dismission of this ecclesiastical sharper, he who has best filled the duties of his station, is the man whose honourable retreat did not give him time to feel the effects of its seducing sweets.

Du Barry (brother to the favourite) was pandergeneral, and basely bartered his influence at court to all who were mean enough to solicit his protection.

The wretch Maupeou enjoyed universal credit, nothing could withstand him; and secure of that contemptible groupe, of which, with indecent precipitation he had constituted a parliament, he ceased to meet with any impediments to his abominable designs.

Conde, Bourbon, Conti, and the courtiers in general,

neral, appeared at times to stand forward as protectors of the people; but an arbitrary mandate (equivalent with what is denominated a Letter-de-Cachet) issued from the private apartment of Du Barry, who negotiated them, and received by the grovelling parasite the Count of St. Florentin on his knees, made the pretended patriot return to his duty, and, after a short exile, kiss with all humility the hand of that basest of courtiers.

The Marchioness of Langeac fluttered about, with consummate effrontery, in this new Babylon; and the prude Lambelle, disgusted with the effects of an union that had proved fatal to her repose, now began to hoist the standard of devotion.

In the midst of this crew I arrived, delighted at my liberation from the yoke imposed on me by my teasing mother, and with my heart impressed with the secret advice which, on my departure from Vienna, I had received from my imperial brother.

An air of assurance and gaiety, eyes that seemed an invitation to pleasure, and a forward freedom of address, won the heart of Grandpapa, the first instant he beheld me. The favourite of *the day* was displeased with the preference he showed me; and, for some time, I interrupted his domestic repose. The king foolishly permitted himself to be led by the nose; and, notwithstanding the vast distance between me and his mistress, had I pursued the line of conduct which I at first adopted, I must inevitably have fallen a victim to the machinations and sarcasms which I employed against that exalted prostitute.

I therefore changed my mode of attack, and the new plan was attended with amazing success. I servilely flattered the caprice of the woman I detested, and became the companion of her debaucheries, in expectation that the happy period would soon arrive, when I might reign in my turn, and take ample vengeance on her for my present humiliation: this hope was greatly encouraged by the dissipated life of

Louis,

Louis, in whose bosom the poison had already begun to operate.

At length the happy moment arrived. Louis xv. breathed his last, amidst the imprecations of his subjects, who had groaned, during the latter part of his reign, beneath the weight of his oppression. Ministerial severity was inadequate to restrain the various sarcasms \* which were circulated on the death of the monarch ; and their hopes of future happiness founded on the virtue, goodness, and generous resolutions of my husband, could not deter the people of France from indecent exclamations of joy at the loss of their monarch.

At this time I founded little Langeac, and a certain *penchant* which I discovered in her, made me wish to attract her notice ; the language of the eyes, half-smothered sighs, all tended to betray the sentiments of each ; an explanation soon followed, and I was blessed with the possession of one so exactly to my wish, as almost to drive the remembrance of all her predecessors in infamy from my mind.

From that time we became inseparable, and our pleasures were incessant ; this intimacy however proved as prejudicial to the reputation of my lover as to the honour of my husband, who first sought, by tender reproaches, to put a stop to it ; but finding these ineffectual, he issued a solemn prohibition, which I was forced to obey, at least in appearance ; and in future I could only enjoy secretly the animated carelessness of this object of my love.

I now come to the year 1775, when the court repaired to Rheims for the anointment of my illustrious husband, and whither I was invited by the alluring voice of pleasure. The confusion occasioned by an exhausted treasury monopolized my husband's

\* The following epitaph has been distinguished among the many that appeared on this occasion :

Beneath lie the ashes of Louis—poor sot !

‘Tis said he was good—but pray, good for what ?

attention ;

attention ; mine was however directed to very different objects. My time was devoted to the purpose of ridding myself of those enemies occasioned by my pride ; and the sincere love of Louis enabled me to succeed in my endeavours. On the eve of our departure for Reims, he, with tears in his eyes, exhorted me earnestly to subject myself no more to those reproaches which my levity and misconduct had so often extorted from him. I embraced him, and promised obedience—Atrocious falsehood ! perfidious kiss ! while the promise appeared to be dictated by truth and affection, my heart was at variance with my lips.

The poverty of the state, caused by the foolish prodigality of Louis x v. by the criminal arts of stock-jobbing, and by the dishonesty of his ministers, ought to have prevented all unnecessary pomp at this festival ; this consideration, however, did not deter me from incurring every expence that could flatter my vanity ; nor were the serious remonstrances of my husband in the least attended to. My equipages were superb, and my dress magnificent ; but in order to defray these expences, I was compelled to have recourse to usurious practices. It was thus I degraded the dignity of the throne, and dishonoured myself in the eyes of the people, by entering into a league with their oppressors, who by their dishonest complacency, obtained from me the privilege of extending their destructive machinations.

When I had discovered this secret means of defeating what I deemed the avarice of my husband, I ceased to be alarmed on account of those *privations*, the approach of which I foresaw ; and my court, which was separate from that of the king, became the temple of the most luxurious pleasures. Tiresome old age was excluded, and none but sprightly youths and women as sprightly were admitted. I issued a proscription against the ridiculous prejudices of prudence, and rather regarded myself as *Venus*, in

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the midst of her votaries, than as the august sovereign of an amiable people. My husband, seeking for relaxation from the pains of royalty, in the occupation of a *locksmith*, frequently tempted me to take the liberty of treating him as *Vulcan*. Determined to resemble, in all points, the wanton deity of whom that fabulous God was the husband, I resolved to choose for myself an *Adonis*, and the young, the charming Duke of Coigny was the favoured mortal who shared my person with the King of France. Hitherto I had been studious to involve my conduct and amours in mystery; I was fearful of rendering them public. At Versailles I eluded the prying curiosity of court parasites, and retired to secret recesses, in order to enjoy my pleasures, and to complete the violation of my nuptial vow. But I soon began to consider such restraints beneath me; I blushed at the restraint to which I had so long submitted; and at Rheims I hoisted the standard of licentiousness unmasked.

The enchanting walk near the new gate of that city afforded me several opportunities of gratifying my luxuriant desires; the Island of Love, by which it is terminated on the side of the river, really appeared to me to be the residence of that deity, and I determined accordingly to sacrifice at his shrine. This sprightly project, executed as soon as conceived, took place on the 9th of June 1775, after a splendid supper which I gave in the walk, and which the king, who had been fatigued with the ceremonies of the day, would not honour with his company. All those whose presence I most dreaded, remained with his majesty, and every thing conspired to favour my wishes.

All kind of etiquette was banished for the night, which I was determined to render delicious. Having drank pretty freely, that is to say, as became a good and royal German—I ran from bower to bower, like a Bacchant; every one followed my example; and, at a signal from me, the confidants of my intentions

tentions extinguished all the lights. The attendants were dismissed; liberty presided at the festival, and we imitated the priestesses of Bacchus and Venus. None but myself could trace the horrors of this night without a blush. But it is not the first time that I have laid aside scruples. I have promised not to use any concealment; the opinion which may be entertained of my candour is of no consequence to me, since I have forfeited all claims to public esteem.

After wandering about for a few minutes, I felt myself closely embraced, and being resolved to let no opportunity slip, I yielded to the stranger's caresses, and sunk gently down upon the turf, in order to favour them.

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He behaved like a Hercules, and almost made me forswear the repetition of those feminine enjoyments which I experienced with that enchanting woman Langeac.

I have not yet learned to whom I was indebted for the two happiest hours of my life; his name is unknown to me; but amidst the troubles by which I am surrounded, I think with rapture of that delicious night, and the recollection brings on the most exultant reflections.

When I returned, I received a tedious and tiresome lecture from my husband; my virtue, however, he did not suspect; though had he been in the habit of performing those duties which few husbands omit, he would have found the most infallible proofs of my infidelity. The most disagreeable part of the lecture was the prohibition ever more to visit that spot where I had experienced such inexpressible delight. After this I became disgusted with the place: even when I attended the splendid ceremony of the anointment, my person, indeed, was at the cathedral of Rheims, but my heart and mind were more pleasantly employed in the delightful bowers of the Island of Love.

Although I was but little interested in what concerned the king, I was still disgusted with the ecclesiastical pomp displayed on this occasion : and the repeated genuflexions which those sacred bigots who kept the holy oil exacted from my husband, appeared to me degrading and humiliating to majesty. Their grimaces and ridiculous attitudes made me laugh till the tears were starting from my eyes. I intercepted an indignant look from the fat prior of Saint-Remi ; but that did not alter my opinion that this absurd farce degraded the majesty of France, and that its abolition ought to be one of the first acts of legislative power.

The court returning to Paris, and the season proving delightful, I fore saw the advantages to be derived from our residence at the metropolis with regard to the gratification of those desires, which I incessantly experienced : my dear brother-in-law, the Count of Artois, assiduously paid his court to me, though without explaining the nature of those sentiments with which I had inspired him.

About this time Montensier, director of the theatre at Versailles, having contracted debts to an enormous amount, conceived a plan of fraudulent bankruptcy. This woman was a favourite, because she made herself subservient to my caprice ; I therefore extricated her from her difficulties, by paying her debts.

This theatre amused me, because the actors exhibited the works of our most obscene dramatists : thither I resorted every night, accompanied by my brother-in-law ; till the king, displeased at my continual absence, contrived a trick, which for some time exposed me to the laughter of the whole court.

I was returning as usual from one of these amorous representations, in a loose undress, escorted by my brother-in-law, who acted as coachman ; the sentinel, on my arrival at the palace-gate, refused me admission.

mission. I instantly made myself known, in a tone of authority calculated to enforce obedience; but the only answer I could obtain was, " His majesty gave me his order, and forbade me to let *any one* pass!" In vain did I threaten, in vain did I entreat! neither solicitations nor menaces could procure me admission; the count swore with all that energy that is peculiar to him, but his imprecations were alike disregarded: at last, I was compelled to return to the theatre, (with my companion in disgrace) from the gallery of which, that leads to the palace, I reached my own apartment; where, to crown the scene, I found neither candle nor attendant, and was forced to procure a light from the guard-room to light me to bed. A thousand revengeful projects now entered my head; but the one which consoled me most was to continue my present loose course of life, and that one I most unequivocally adopted. This idea gratified my senses, and gave me infinite pleasure; and I fell asleep with the determination of suffering no opportunity to escape which could favour the furtherance of my plan.

That profound dissimulation which has always been a leading feature in my mind, ought naturally to have prompted me to adhere to my project of revenge, without attempting to reproach my husband with his conduct. Many considerations, likewise, should have induced me to adopt this line of conduct, but the ascendancy which I had acquired over the mind of the king, made me anticipate the just complaints he was entitled to make; and, setting etiquette at defiance, I made my appearance at his levee-as usual.

With my eyes swollen, more from the fatigues of the night than from crying, I complained loudly of the orders given to the sentinel, and asked my husband, abruptly, whether I was to have the alternative of being a prisoner in my own palace, or of being compelled to the inconvenience of keeping hours

prescribed to me, without consulting either my pleasure or inclination? The king, with a disdainful smile, answered me, with the tone and air of a downright cit, that being master of his own house, he should insist upon no one sitting up after he had retired to rest. I attempted to reply, but he abruptly turned his back; and this was all the advantage I derived from this imprudent confidence in my own power.

The storm blew over; but being no longer able to pursue my nocturnal excursions, I cast my eyes on my brother-in-law, the Count of Artois, who desired nothing better than to become an accomplice in my revenge, as he had been the companion of my disgrace. Nevertheless, I must acknowledge, that my advances to the count, proceeded rather from a spirit of hatred and coquetry, than from inclination. I disliked his wife, and thought I could not give her a more convincing proof of my aversion, than by seducing her husband, who never treated her worse than when he had been engaged in intrigues. I acknowledge, likewise, that I equally detested Edamad; that I experienced pleasure in humiliating them both; that I hated Monsieur; but that, notwithstanding my antipathy, had I imagined him not to be a *woman's man*, I shoud have tried every means of seducing him, and by ridiculing his defect, have gratified my resentment.

Bereft of this resource, I made use of others; but the employment they furnished did not lead me to forego the desire of being at once sister-in-law and mistress to Artois. Some expressive looks on my part soon explained my meaning; they spoke a language which such an expert libertine could not possibly misconceive.

The various trips I had taken to Cytheria with different persons, would almost have deterred me returning thither, but for this new acquaintance. The transports of those lovers I had hitherto enjoyed, were damped by respect. With them, it was in vain

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I laid aside every appearance of majesty, that I chose the most retired spots, exposed myself in a state of nature, provoked their embraces by the most expressive caresses, the most impassioned looks, and the most lascivious postures;—it was in vain, in short, that I gave way to that intoxication and delirium which the violent heat of my constitution produced. The idea of encircling their sovereign in their arms, made them frigid as ice; and it was not till I had exhausted all the resources of the most wanton courtezans, that I extorted an unsatisfactory and slender tribute; yet my lovers were always chosen like a perfect mistress of the art, and the names of Dilon, Coigny, and Vaudreuil, are sufficient to demonstrate that I had little reason to expect such feeble exertions from such robust appearances.

Artois, above the apprehension of danger from the connection, afforded me more real satisfaction. It was long since I had began to practice those different *positions* which led by degrees to the summit of voluptuousness; notwithstanding, however, my extensive knowledge of the subject, I was compelled, in my intercourse with the count, to begin my noviciate afresh; and the new discoveries I made, forced me to acknowledge my inexperience when compared to him.

At the court of Vienna, an officer had first initiated me in the mysteries of Love, when the symptoms of womanhood were yet but indistinct; he had likewise commenced my instruction in those pleasing variations which constitute the height of amorous knowledge; but how far was I short of perfection! That perfection I now acquired in the arms of my dear count, and the multiplicity of delights we experienced, encreased my attachment to him, even to madness.

Of the birth of my children, I shall say but little. Though that event was celebrated with festivals, though the vulgar were profuse of their congratulations,

tions, yet the clear-sighted thought very differently of it. The king received, with complacency, the numerous addresses on this subject, while, at times, the wits exercised their talents, and vented the most bitter sarcasms. Many of these coming to my ears, convinced me that Artois had the reputation of being the father of my children. To the voice or opinion of the public, however, I paid little regard, and never suffered them to give me the smallest uneasiness; the only regret, indeed, which I experienced, was, that I did supply more abundant matter for the variety of lampoons with which I was assailed. In order to keep the count perpetually at my disposal, I profited by his secret lessons to such a degree as even to surpass him in his own art: yet his natural inconstancy was not to be restrained by my incessant study to promote the gratification of his desires; he neglected me, but he did not forsake me; and to preserve any hold of him, I was obliged, not only to allow him the pleasures of variety, but even to appear to favour it.

The young nobility about the court, at the head of whom were my dear count, and the Duke of Chartres, afterwards Duke of Orleans, in their travels had collected a great number of foreign vices and follies; among others, the English customs, manners, and pleasures, had so far seduced them, that, in a short time, every thing became English throughout the kingdom—the king, and his simple brother Monsieur, only excepted. Horse-racing soon became fashionable, and daily drew the people from their occupations; on the skill and vigour of the jockies, the transfer of fortunes depended; and the two princes derived more glory from these feats, than from their famous exploits at Ushant and Gibraltar.

Of these amusements I was the soul; and as soon as the sport was over, I flew, with the velocity of lightning, to Trianon, whither my dear count soon followed, to whose caresses I submitted, and with whom

whom I enjoyed the sports Venus, heightened by every new device, every amorous incitement, which our imaginations could suggest; but let it not be imagined, that even he *monopolized* my person at this period. With him, indeed, I experienced the fruition of enjoyment; but I likewise tasted of pleasure with others. Miss Dorvat, one of my attendants, after gaining my confidence, had fixed my attention by her beauty. The brilliancy of her eyes, and the beauty of her bosom, excited my desires; and I soon determined to gratify them. The mode I adopted is too interesting to be omitted: As she was one day waiting on me in my closet, I observed a mole on her right cheek, and jocosely remarked, that there must consequently be another beneath her right breast. In vain she declared she had not. I maintained my assertion, and insisted upon ocular demonstration. I therefore requested she would pull off her stays, with which she blushingly complied, and discovered to my enraptured sight the most lovely breasts that woman was ever blest with—their firmness was equalled only by their purity; I moulded them with my hands, and, having acted the part of an impassioned lover, I soon perceived I had communicated some sparks of the fire which raged within me into the bosom of this sweet girl.

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Sure never was woman better formed for amorous disport; and never did any one sacrifice to Venus with greater zeal and ardour.

In this manner, varying the frolics of love, I prevented them from becoming insipid, and incessantly exerted the privilege granted me by nature, of being equally sensible to the enjoyment of either sex.

At the sight of a beautiful woman or a handsome man, my eyes sparkled, my visage glowed, and the most pointed expression was visible in my face. I could scarcely conceal the violence of my passions,  
and

and very few of the objects of my lasciviousness ever escaped my snares.

The more effectually to conceal my amorous adventures from the sight of those who wished to expose me, I called to my assistance frequent indispositions, when I always gave orders to be left alone, which afforded me the means of repairing to the different temples of Love, and of sacrificing, unsuspected, to that deity.

Though my dear count was not jealous, he was subject to fits of ill-humour; one day, when he was in one of those fits, he took the liberty of chiding me for those clandestine practices, the particulars of which he could only conjecture. The intimacies between us, and transactions of a similar nature, had taught me the absurdity of blushing. I hesitated not, therefore, to acquaint him with my passion for the beautiful Dorvat; at the same time exhorting him not to be alarmed. The openness of my declaration by no means displeased him; he only doubted the *possibility* of this intercourse, and ironically asked how I could possibly *interest* another woman?

"My dear count, I shall soon surprize you," said I; and I actually informed him of my proceedings with Dorvat.

"Nothing," replied he, "but ocular demonstration can convince me of the truth of your assertion. Yes, sister, you astonish but do not convince me: nay, farther; I'll bet you a thousand guineas, that it is not possible!" "A thousand guineas! I take the wager; and if you please we'll decide it instantly."

Retiring to a private apartment, voluptuously furnished, the count, who thought he must *half* lose his wager, endeavoured, by giving me a previous treat of more substantial enjoyment, to prevent any further inclination in me of a similar tendency, for the present

present at least. But no sooner was I released from his caresses, than I rang the bell, and Dorvat, who was in waiting, made her appearance; I took her in my arms, though the count was present, and kissed her with rapture. At first she blushed; but emboldened by my advances, the idea of shame soon vanished, and she even exceeded me in a desire of shewing the count that his thousand guineas were in a perilous situation.

My lover being now convinced of the danger of setting me at defiance, and confessing his wager lost, declared he would willingly pay as much every day, to be present at such a delightful scene. But I had reason, afterwards, to suspect that the voluptuous transports of Dorvat had made an impression on the heart of my lover. And, on examining with the precision of an *accoucheur*, I found my suspicions confirmed. I, however, willingly forgave the count for this instance of infidelity—the pardon should be reciprocal.

I have hitherto only presented the portrait of a prostitute, polluting the royal bed with debauchery. The shocking state of vice into which I was plunged, and the infamy of my conduct, made all France tremble; contempt, however, was the only sentiment I now inspired. Wearied with composing songs and epigrams, the courtiers regarded me now as lost, abandoned and corrupted, and treated me with every mark of reprobation.

In order to rouze the people from this lethargy, it became necessary to give full scope to the native ferocity of my disposition; which plan I adopted. Not content with being an object of disdain to all France, I resolved to become an object of fear likewise, and to make hatred succeed contempt.

The advice which my brother had given me on my departure from Vienna, was ever fresh in my mind. Nothing but opportunity had hitherto been wanting for putting it in practice; but in order, the more effectually to ensure success, the countenance

of the ministry was indispensably necessary, and that, unluckily, I was not able to procure.

My brother's disposition, in every point similar to my own, involved him daily in fresh difficulties, from which gold alone could extricate him ; but his treasury was exhausted, and his subjects, groaning under the weight of oppression, appeared disposed to shake off his tyrannical yoke. I loved him too well not to afford him all the assistance in my power. Joly de Flury, though refractory at first, at length yielded to my wishes, by consenting to second my intentions ; and during his administration I remitted many considerable sums to my brother.

This minister's disgrace alarmed me, and I exerted all my influence to procure a successor entirely devoted to my will ; but I had the mortification to be disappointed. Ormesson was intractable ; and, for some time, I was deprived of the ability to assist the person I most esteemed. Willingly would I have transmitted to him all the treasures of the nation ; but how could I hope to see this accomplished, while the members of administration were in opposition to me ?

I consider the first part of my life but as a mere collection of facts which were generally known ; I shall not, however, enlarge upon the passage relating to Neckar, and the strange manœuvres I employed for promoting his disgrace : at this time he was far from monopolizing the king's confidence ; but could I have foreseen the revolutions which have since occurred, or had I not been restrained by a stupid timidity, the projects I formed would have been put in execution, and ruin and disgrace to that minister, whose probity I detested, must inevitably have been the consequence.

Calonne now made his political appearance in France, and my hopes were revived. I had long wished to see one at the head of those leeches whose souls, insensible to the cries of grief, delight in scenes of misery ; and I had my wish fulfilled.

Specula-

Speculations the most absurd, the most insidious projects, the most unprincipled plunder, and the most criminal advice to the king, were the chief means which this minister—to whom I am under so many obligations—employed for the purpose of insinuating himself into my favour. I received him with kindness, soothed his vanity, and applauded his administration—in short I exerted the meanest arts to attach him to me, and my success was complete. Indeed I never had any doubt of succeeding in my undertaking, for my attack on the contemptible creatures I wished to subdue, was always supported by coquetry and dissimulation, which arts I preferred to the palladium of virtue, or the shield of wisdom.

Every instant of my time in this interval was devoted to libertinism, ambition, plunder, and sacrilege. Each new day gave birth to new horrors, and when on my pillow, I examined my own mind, and found it devoid of every virtue, yet nevertheless, on the return of day, I returned to a repetition of infamy.

During the embassy of the Cardinal Prince of Rohan, at the court of Vienna, I attracted his attention, and inspired him with love. Bold as the declaration of his passion was, I still gave him hopes, not by one of those answers which remove all doubt, but by an obliging smile, by those vague expressions so well understood in the schools of gallantry.

I was always fond of conducting amours in the military style, of abridging preliminaries, and hastening to the conclusion. The sweet and sentimental tone of the cardinal made some impression on me; but the figure and address of a German officer proved infinitely more persuasive. I would mention the name of this Adonis (who initiated me first into the mysteries of Venus), and expatiate on his skill and vigour, if I was not afraid to expose a life so dear to me.

The cardinal, enraged at the preference shewn to his rival, determined to exact vengeance for what he deemed an insult to his superior merit; this project he has since contrived to execute; thus, though I have admitted him to the most *familiar* intercourse—the particulars of which shall be hereafter noticed—I have ever regarded him as my most inveterate enemy; and he need not think himself indebted to me for having escaped the scaffold, but to thank his stars, which could alone prevent him falling a victim to a plan that was formed for his ruin.

No one felt the effects of my dissimulation more sensibly than this political prelate. I pretended to be totally ignorant of the licentious stories which he propagated concerning me at the court of Vienna; I held out my hand to him, with the utmost affability, at Saverne; I received him with kindness at Versailles, even at the time when I had the greatest reason to think him my enemy.

That etiquette which disgusted me so much in Germany, appeared less terrible at the French court. The advantage I took of the liberty which is there accorded to women of my rank is no secret. I have already said, that at first, I rejected the suit of the Count of Artois with disdain; yet still his attention to me excited a clamour, which soon came to the ears of my mother, who thinking there was no one better able to give her information of the truth of the report than the cardinal, wrote to him for that purpose. This prelate still loved me. He was greatly embarrassed at my connection with the count, which was then ascribed to me, though it really did not take place till some time after. Alarmed at his rival's success, with whom, notwithstanding his vanity, he was obliged to confess his inability to cope, rage fired his breast, and he answered my mother by the following letter, which was sent me by my brother, who found it among her papers.

" To

*" To the Empress Queen of all the Hungaries.*

*" Madam,*

" My zeal and respect for the illustrious house of Austria, the veneration with which your virtues have inspired me; the candour you witnessed in me when the king sent me to make known his sentiments to you, and to which you now appeal, all urge me to comply with your request, though that compliance must give me pain. Why did you not make choice of some other person for this disagreeable office?

" It is but too true that Antoinette, when she entered on the territories of France, forgot totally those lessons of prudence which you had endeavoured to impress on her mind; independent of her excessive taste for every species of luxury, her coquetry is unbounded. It is reported that she prefers her brother-in-law to her husband; I sincerely wish it may not be true, but I am compelled to acknowledge that appearances are against her.

" This is all the information I am able to give you. May your majesty's wise exhortations bring her back to the path of duty! may my zeal conspire to the promotion of so glorious an end!—I remain, &c. &c.

*" L. ED. ROHAN."*

It is plain from this letter that the cardinal did not spare me, and if he meant, by this line of conduct to gain my affection, he was grossly deceived; for the moment I was acquainted with his duplicity, I vowed an eternal hatred against him. It was this hatred which induced me, in the sequel, to place him on the list of my favourites; but he was then far from suspecting that I was only presenting him with poison in a golden vessel, and honouring him with my favour only to accelerate his destruction.

I acknowledge I am at a loss to decide what sen-

timent predominates in my breast, as I take up my pen to write what follows. Loud as the voice of indignation must inevitable be, the dread of it shall not induce me to disguise or conceal a single fact.

I began to tire of the caresses of Artois; variety was necessary to render my pleasures palatable, and I had long flattered myself with the prospect of enjoying a new object. Fersen, colonel of the royal Swiss, followed me every where; and, struck with the beauty of his figure, I determined to grant his request. As he was one day walking in the orangery, his eyes met mine, and an intelligent signal soon convinced him of the success of his suit. On my return to the palace, I sent a box, with the following note inclosed in it:

*"Flora to Zephyr."*

" My dear Zephyr, for some time, I have seen you traversing the parterres of my empire, and attentively observing all the flowers under my dominion. If you have fixed your wishes on any one of them, your Flora will die of despair. Remember, I am their queen, and that I should inflict the most rigorous punishment on her who should dare to deprive me of that treasure which I am anxious to possess. I shall go at nine o'clock to-night, to the *Etta Trianon*; if Zephyr pays any regard to the tender anxiety of Flora, he will not fail to meet her there. The governor will introduce him."

Fersen immediately returned the following answer by the bearer.

*"Zephyr to Flora."*

" Zephyr regards all the flowers of your empire with perfect indifference; if he observes them attentively, it is only in hope of discovering their queen among them; when he sees her, respect keeps him silent, and his eyes are the only interpreters of his heart. Conducted by love and gratitude, he will fly

to

to Trianon, at nine this evening ; too happy if the ardour of his passion can chase every sentiment of uneasiness from the bosom of Flora, and convince her of his sincerity."

That I lost no time in the attainment of my wishes, this note, with its answer, will be sufficient to show ; and that the request was no sooner made, than the favour was granted.

Fersen, punctual to his appointment, was introduced by Bazin (the governor of Trianon, and confidant of my secret pleasures), who was in waiting for that purpose. It is needless to describe the particulars of our interview ; the ardour with which I celebrated the mysteries of love, is no secret. I shall content myself with observing that, contented and happy with each other, we passed two hours together, and experienced all the effects of the most ardent and animated passion. We met repeatedly after at the same place ; and this connection lasted till I became cloyed with my lover, and began to think of a fresh admirer.

I have before observed, that I was very inconstant in my attachments. A great share of address, of ability, and of singularity, was requisite to fix me ; if I met with none of these qualities in those whom I honoured with my caresses, disgust soon succeeded, and I quickly left them to seek for lovers better qualified.

In the long list which I could produce of my lovers, male and female, it will appear that I was no sooner disgusted with female commerce, than I had recourse to the opposite sex. There was scarce a female about the court, who had a similarity of taste for her own sex, that I had not enjoyed. The insipid Dossun however soon tired me ; besides, I had no confidence in her. I knew that she concealed a jealous and a mischievous mind beneath an appearance of meekness ; in short, she was a dangerous companion ; and I had more than once experienced

disagreeable effects from her indiscretion. My next concern was to find a successor to the colonel.

My connection with the Dutches of Polignac, I could easily have renewed; but my passion for her was abated: besides, on my first intercourse with her, where I expected to discover hidden beauties, I found nothing but deformity; and she would not have been admitted a second time to my arms, but for particular circumstances, which rendered her necessary to me.

I was induced to soothe her by another consideration; she had acquired an absolute ascendancy over me, being acquainted with my most secret concerns, and had in her possession numberless notes and letters of mine; assignations, addressed as well to the Count of Artois as to other men of rank, and which I had imprudently entrusted to faithless hands; besides several memorandums, the margins of which were filled with proofs of my unheard-of exactations, of sums received for places, and of other proceedings of a similar complexion.

In this state of uncertainty, I was at a loss how to act, when the Countess de Valois de la Motte was introduced to me by Miseri, first lady of my chamber. This person—who afterwards fell the victim of my rage against the cardinal—came to solicit restitution of the estate of Fontête, which formerly had been in the possession of her ancestors.

I have before observed, that when a person struck my fancy, his (or *her*) situation in life was never a consideration with me. The countess thus made a complete conquest of my heart the first time she threw herself at my feet. "This is very fortunate," said I to myself; "my end is answered; *she* shall succeed Fersen." \*

Though I pretended to grant her request, yet, as I designed her for my own *private* pleasures, I wished her not to be indebted for her success to any but herself;

herself; I therefore neglected exerting my influence over Calonne, to procure an augmentation of her pension, which was not above seventy pounds per annum, in hopes that the mediocrity of her circumstances would favour my views, and conduct her from my presence-chamber to my bed.

Thus I was tempted to snatch this prey from the fangs of the luxurious comptroller, who made free with the royal treasure, and used it for the vilest of purposes. To his proceedings I was no stranger; but as he did not prevent my pursuing the same method, prudence kept me silent.

The cardinal, not having renounced his libidinous projects, circumspectly regarded all my motions, and even my looks. He, therefore, soon perceived the impression which the countess had made upon me; and finding means to attach her to his interest, he gave her every necessary instruction, and prevailed on her to promise unlimited submission to my desires.

Our second interview took place between eleven and twelve o'clock at night, at Trianon. She was introduced to me by that same Dorvat whom I have mentioned before, who, from being a principal actress in these libidinous scenes, was now contented with the office of *agent*.

The raptures I enjoyed this blissful night, were such as I had hitherto been a stranger to, even though I had tried all the charms of variety in this my predominant taste for *feminine* enjoyment.

I dismissed her with assurances of protection, and a present of four hundred pounds, supplied me by Calonne. I rewarded her like a queen, while the comptroller paid his mistress (Le Brun) like a king, and by the same means too.

The cardinal having gained information of the particulars of this interview, began to employ all his engines; he even presumed to write to me. I refused, for some time, to attend to his justification; but

but the secret advice I received from my brother, who had long wished to see him at the head of affairs, induced me at length to submit to a reconciliation.

The Memoirs of the countess, published at London in 1789, which are strictly true, will acquaint the reader more fully with the farce which I caused to be played between the Cardinal and Oliva, a common prostitute. Thus did I associate with the vilest of beings whenever I could render them subservient to my ends.

I forgave the cardinal, but far from sincerely; indeed it was only with a view to draw him, with the greater certainty, into those snares I was gradually preparing for him, so that my correspondence with him became a riddle, which few had the ability to solve.

More completely to gain this end, I humoured him in every thing, and permitted him to act the *Pastor Fido* about my person. My design was to convert him into a mere machine; to draw him into as many blunders as I could; to undeceive my brother, and engage him to withdraw his confidence from so undeserving an object; and finally, to crown my vengeance by his destruction.

To ensure success to this enterprize was the constant object of my thoughts; and I often, when sitting with the cardinal, appeared lost in thought, and took no notice of his insinuating protestations. The artful prelate, however, one day, taking advantage of my lethargy, and interpreting silence as a mark of consent, seized me in his arms, bore me to a couch, and finding my reverie still continue, immediately proceeded to the *last* extremity, without the *least* interruption.

I had now enjoyed men of almost all professions; the church, the army, and the court, had alternately supplied me with lovers. Indeed, such was the warmth of my constitution, that had I found a peasant worthy of my notice, the distance between our situations

situations would have proved no obstacle to the gratification of my desires.

The Polignacs became enraged; they no longer enjoyed my confidence; my attachment to them daily decreased; I even treated them with affected disdain, and appearing to renounce all thoughts of love; interest alone took possession of my mind.

The indiscretion of *the Slave* (the Cardinal assumed this appellation to express his devotion to me) however, who sometimes assumed the tone of a *master*, alarmed me. Our connexion was the topic of public conversation with Lausun, Luxembourg, and Artois. Some indiscreet sallies of his too, in which he hinted at certain *peculiarities* in my hidden charms, had convinced those who had shared my favours, of the reality of our intercourse.

At this time the adventure of the necklace occurred—of that necklace which engaged the attention of distant countries, and the mystery attendant on which has not been yet explained; the account I am going to give will make me many enemies; but, I have promised to be candid, and I will not break my promise.

I had been long soliciting the king to present me with a pair of diamond bracelets, similar to those which were worn by the queen of a neighbouring island; but as granting my request would have spoilt his system of economy, he refused it. Calonne was at a loss how to procure supplies, every pecuniary resource was exhausted; and intrigue was the only method which remained for procuring this trinket, on which I had set my mind.

I had frequently mentioned my wish, and the penury of my husband, to the counts; she reported what I said to the cardinal, who, notwithstanding the deranged state of his affairs, and the lowness of his credit, undertook to negotiate the business, by which I alone was to be the gainer, having always taken

taken the precaution of employing my emissaries, without appearing myself.

By the sequel of this affair, was I almost imperceptibly led to the completion of that vengeance which I had so long meditated against the Cardinal; though it was not so perfect as I wished.

At last the necklace was brought me, by my secret agent, L'Esclaux; and the moment I got possession of it, I vowed it should serve as an instrument of revenge; it was not my intention that the countess should be included in this determination; circumstances alone influenced the event, which will no longer appear mysterious after a perusal of this history.

That I might be enabled to adopt the diamonds to the purpose for which they were destined, it was necessary the necklace should be *unset*. This being accomplished, I distributed some to my favourites, and, as they were valuable, they entertained a high opinion of my generosity. It was by the acceptance of these presents that the unhappy countess was brought to the post of infamy, and suffered branding by the hand of the executioner.

A policy, the most profound, was requisite to extricate me from this dilemma, all the infamy of which must infallibly have fallen upon me, had I been discovered. I had recourse to my usual maxims—innocence was sacrificed to the preservation of a small portion of expiring reputation—and I exerted my utmost ability to cover this atrocious proceeding with the impenetrable veil of secrecy. The slightest communication with any one on this topic, must have proved highly prejudicial; on which account I kept entirely on the reserve; and, in spite of the hypocritical Breteuil's pretended zeal, his air of assurance, and his insidious interrogatories, I firmly denied that the trinket had ever been in my possession, affirming, that I was equally unacquainted with that, and with  
the

the countess—whose ruin I thus promoted by my duplicity.

By this means did I rid myself of an affair, the whole infamy of which I ought to have incurred ; and the name of *my Majesty* was seldom mentioned, but as a subject of fresh accusation against those who had dared to call in question its purity. I was still, however, uneasy ; I had been accused by several witnesses ; and the subtle Vergennes, judging the part it was most likely I had acted in this abominable manœuvre, guessed with sufficient precision to justify his resentment, and to enable him to adduce indirect proofs against me.

Sentence was pronounced ; equity was violated ; innocence oppressed ; and the cardinal escaped my vengeance ; while I remained in security, and in peaceable possession of a great number of beautiful brilliants, taken from the necklace, and of which it was my intention to compose a pair of bracelets, equally elegant with those of my royal neighbour.

I now thought it necessary to renew my connection with the Duchess of Polignac ; the indiscreet communication of the cardinal had alarmed me, lest all my past misconduct should be known. I therefore broke off all intercourse with my imprudent lovers ; but still my desires needed gratification, which the duchess was able to afford. I accordingly attached myself to her, resolving to profit by any other opportunity that might afterwards present itself.

By our reconciliation, ample food was furnished for scandal, and I was represented by the whole court as having the most uncontrollable passion for my own sex ; to gratify my desires, and to follow my inclinations, was a privilege which no consideration of public opinion could induce me to forego.

My brother still cherished the idea of fomenting divisions in the kingdom, and communicated to me his

his projects, which I seconded, though I was unable to carry them into execution. All my actions were observed with an eye of distrust; and notwithstanding the intrigues of those who were blindly devoted to me, I saw little reason to hope that his schemes would be crowned with success.

Polignac then became my favourite, and the participator of my pleasures: profiting by the time which my husband left us at liberty to enjoy, we punished his indolence by the most lascivious intercourse, which we did not even strive to conceal. Artois was admitted sometimes to our orgies, but him I dreaded, for he partook of these *mysteries* in so earnest a manner, that, but for a precaution, in which Polignac had instructed me, the royal family must have been considerably augmented.

The hopes which the people entertained of a reformation in the administration of affairs, made them quietly return to their occupations; but the fresh materials which I furnished, gave birth to numerous satirical publications, some of which were boldly addressed to myself. This served only to augment my rage against the nation, and to prepare me for the execution of any project that might accelerate its downfall.

The means of affecting this were not difficult to find; the ministry had been long laying the train, and nothing but opportunity was wanting to fire it. My husband, in the mean time, being perfectly satisfied with the assurances of reformation which were daily made him, remained in a state of tranquillity; this crisis enabled me to acquire a greater knowledge of the character of the nation, than I had hitherto been able to procure.

The princes of the blood of the house of Bourbon, had frequently exhibited proofs of a patriotic disposition, and a love of the people; but I considered them so variable, as to be turned by the slightest breath

breath of air. To me nothing was so easy as to govern them, and make them subservient to my own purposes.

During this time I suffered much from the fiery, impetuous, and jealous disposition of the Duchess of Polignac, which I frequently found intolerable. I was now divided between the desire of gratifying my secret inclinations, by finding out some method of furnishing my brother with the immense sums of which he stood in the utmost need, and that of gaining over the princes of the blood, and some others, by flattering their ambition.

My dear Artois, exempt from jealousy, continued to pay me the greatest attention; having studied his heart, and learned his secrets, it was in vain for him to dissemble; I knew that my husband was equally an object of detestation to him as to me, and it was a political stroke on my part to make him an associate in all my plans.

I foresaw already the execution of our projects, and the bare thought of it always raised a smile of satisfaction on my countenance. Actuated by political motives, I humoured the turbulent duchess, whose intimacy with those whom I wanted to assist me, pointed out the danger I should incur by offending her.

Artois, also, assisted me in the formation of that league, the pernicious effects of which have been recently felt. To him I ascribed the success, while I cautiously concealed my intention of making him a tool to my brother. Our confederacy was speedily settled; but unforeseen occurrences compelled us to defer the execution of our plan.

Our projects were not yet so animated as they have been since. At this time we were reasoning on the means of putting our plan in execution; but the parliament, by a resistance we little expected, rendered the beginning of our undertaking abortive.

Louis had issued one of the most absurd edicts,

and we had reason to hope the circumstance of registering it would render him odious to the nation. The conduct of the parliament, however, disappointed our expectations. This political body foreseeing, already, the public indignation—absolutely refused to register the edict, and imagined, that by this act of false courage, they might induce the people to forget the meanness of their former proceedings. Astonished at this instance of firmness, we at first believed it feigned, and engaged the *lion* to exert his strength ; this produced a mutiny in the capital ; the courts of justice were invested, and we were alarmed by their transports of rage.

Louis, shut up in his palace, acted only according to instruction, and left the care of registering the edict to Artois, who began now to exhibit strong symptoms of a ferocious mind. He ascended the stair-case leading to the hall, in which the parliament were assembled, swearing like a madman, his eyes sparkling with destruction, and his mouth foaming with rage ; but his apprehensions soon damped his courage, and this boasted hero returned with the utmost speed, deeming himself fortunate in escaping with his life, and being able to regain his carriage, unaccompanied by his guards, who had forsaken him on the first alarm.

On his return to Versailles, he told Louis that, in future, he must take it upon himself to see his will enforced ; but Monsieur, who was now a favourite of the people, undertook to prevent the commotion which we now began to apprehend. He was received accordingly with applause by the Parisians, who always regard a handsome face as a sign of an honest heart.

This was the first signal of alarm, and the presage of future disturbances. Since that time the people have revolted, burnt the guard-house, and, at the risk of being fired upon, constrained those whom they suspected to bow down before the statute of an adored monarch,

monarch, the sight of which drew tears from their eyes, and led them to form an afflicting comparison between his reign and the present.

Though Monsieur succeeded in promoting a temporary calm, his conduct was marked by pusillanimity, and finally tended to augment rather than diminish the derangement of the national affairs.

Our hopes were greatly flattered by the acts of tyranny which were now daily exercised; but, notwithstanding the satisfaction which they gave us, we perceived the danger of exposure, and necessity of circumspection. This induced us to stop our proceedings for a time, fully resolving, however, to seize the first opportunity of renewing them. The ferment was strong and violent, and precipitation might lead to the subversion of that structure we had been so anxious in raising. I profited, therefore, by the present interval, to enjoy another species of amusement.

At the court of France it is the fashion for every lady to have her puppet. I accordingly chose the elegant Marquis of Bievre (who understands the art of talking pleasing obscenity, and composing epigrams and *calembourgs* better than any man in the kingdom) for my *attendant monkey*.—Wit is a splendid endowment, and preferable to depth of understanding, or brilliancy of genius; when I had adopted this frivolous marquis as the president of my office, the members of my party daily increased; plain prose and common sense were expelled; and edicts, letters patent, royal declarations, sentences of the privy council, and even majesty itself, were considered as proper subjects for a *calembourg*.

This literary myrmidon was praised to the skies, and by dint of attention I soon conducted him whither I had conducted so many others—to my voluptuous retreat at Trianon, where, pressing him to my heaving bosom, I convinced him that respect for a sovereign, and conjugal fidelity, were mere *calembourgs*!

I have observed before, that Calonne was no longer able to supply me with money; in vain I complained; every resource was exhausted, and his ability was gone, though his will was good. The immense deficiencies we had occasioned, gave rise to the most violent murmurs. I joined the cry of our patriots, and pretended to be equally alarmed; but apprehending that an investigation of the minister's proceedings might lead to an exposure of my own, I secretly informed him of the danger he would incur by remaining in office; in consequence of which, after various attempts to justify his conduct, he judged it prudent to decamp, and retired to the capital of a neighbouring island, where I still maintained a correspondence with him.

My embarrassments now daily increased, as well as my prodigality and dissipation, which I had not the smallest inclination to diminish. I looked forward to the time when I should become absolute mistress of the national wealth; still every thing seemed to run counter to my wishes; and I was, moreover, harrassed by my brother, who, by his treasures being totally exhausted, was reduced to the last resource of a bad monarch—the necessity of plundering his subjects.

Louis, whose confidence in his ministers was boundless, entirely relied on them for the management of affairs the most essential to the welfare of the state, and signed, without reading, whatever we caused to be presented to him, as those ministers were entirely devoted to our party. Indeed, he would sometimes enquire whether his people were happy, the answer to which may easily be conjectured. Not one of their well-founded complaints was ever suffered to reach his ears, and the false affirmations of our creatures confirmed his tranquillity. Shut up in his closet for hours together, he trifled away his time, or else slept in that security into which we had contrived to plunge him, and in which we were anxious

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He should remain. On the article of *money* alone, he was intractable. His extreme economy had degenerated into avarice, and his favourite maxim was, that every man in the kingdom, even *himself*, should be contented with the mere necessaries of life. Had we conformed to this whimsical idea, we should have formed a snug family party, and have sat down to the same table like downright eits. Such an arrangement, it must be confessed, would have had something peculiarly amusing in it.

Necessity, however, compelled us to comply, in a great measure, with the wishes of my husband. We maddened with rage, to think that in France richer individuals existed than ourselves; men who by an extraordinary coincidence of fortunate circumstances had amassed millions. To some of these opulent *leeches* we occasionally had recourse, and borrowed of them at exorbitant interest. This conduct, which posterity will scarcely credit, lasted several years: we dived into the pockets of these misers, and, in exchange for the vast sums we drew from thence, we gave them *flattering glances*, and *engaging smiles*. These payments, which are easily made by people indifferent about their character, were reserved for those who meanly begged our protection and favour! As to that class of brutes which are to be satisfied only by the idea of doubling the principal, we fed them with *hopes*. Thus to punish avarice is doubtless meritorious.

Truth is not so deep a lodger at the bottom of the well, but it will sometime rise to the surface, and present itself to public inspection; the torrent of our iniquities encreased as it proceeded, and at length all resources were totally exhausted. A counsel was then held, for money must be had, and if it could not be procured in France, we would have sought it even in the bowels of the earth.

My dear Artois, ever fertile in expedients, suggested an idea which had never occurred to me, and

which proved very advantageous to us. This was, to make *proper* use of the ascendancy I had acquired over my husband, which was extensive, where *interest* was out of the question. As a desire to indulge my passions had kept me some time distant from him, the king had contracted, either from inclination or chagrin, a habit of deviating from his settled plan of *economy*, in favour of good living. Wine in particular began to have its attractions, and every one must allow, that when this passion has once become habitual, it increases daily, till the victim is totally subdued.

Since the king occasionally sacrificed to Bacchus, at those times he was always amorous. During these love-fits I could have prevailed on him to sign even the abdication of his kingdom; and as he was inviolably faithful to his engagement, whenever he was satisfied the signature was really his, we resolved to employ this method to gain our ends.

It was hardly possible I could succeed in my project, without frequently being with him, and flattering his favourite propensity. Nothing could please him more; I therefore paid constant attention to him, encouraged him in drinking, and even partook of his potations. I took care, however, that his usual portion should be doubled, and when I saw him wound up to the proper pitch, I used every artifice, and taking the pen, guided his hand, and the name “Louis,” which traced on the paper at my request, put me in possession of immense sums, which I loyally divided with Artois, as being the author of the plan.

Brienne (Calonne’s successor) ceased now to be refractory, and began to be convinced that he would be prevented from *monopolizing* the fruits of his office. The drafts I sent him, though they satisfied his conscience, made him tremble, yet, as they had the king’s signature, that was a full justification in all events.

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It appeared astonishing to my husband, that I should redouble my attention at the moment he least expected it; my tender concern for his precious person gave him offence, and my constant attempts to make him write, whenever I could, contributed not a little to make him suspect that my caresses were for interested motives. He was resolved to satisfy himself, and I was caught in the only snare he ever laid, I believe, during his whole life. After this discovery no more drafts could be procured, and, Brienne, quitting the treasury, we were reduced once more to extremities.

We now thought it time to forward the execution of our grand enterprize, which had failed through the unexpected resistance of the parliament. Artois devoted all his time in rallying the discontented. When I informed him that all hopes of obtaining from his majesty sufficient to satisfy our *wants*, as we modestly termed them, were at an end, he yielded to my advice, and directly set himself at work to lay the foundation of a new government.

The Duchess of Polignac, who alternately forfeited and regained my confidence, enjoyed, at this time, a great portion of my esteem; and knowing how useful she would be in promoting our schemes, I loaded her with favours.

We employed her to gain over the princes to our party, and this lascivious woman spared no pains to attach them to us. To prostitute her person was of little consequence to her; as she had long been in the habit, and the ardour which she shewed in our cause, compels me to reveal a secret that redounds much to her credit—that whoever was once acquainted with her *secret* charms, could never refuse her any thing. I speak from experience.

Our committees were attended not only by princes of the blood, but also the first nobles of France, and many of the clergy, through her assiduity, so that our party became numerous and respectable. A secret conference

conference was then held, and our plan regularly settled.

While the nation, at this moment plunged into a lethargy, silently lamented its losses, and devoured its griefs, without daring to complain, I continued to repose myself on the bosom of pleasure. My palace at Saint Cloud I had not visited for some time, nor celebrated the Cytherean rites in its voluptuous and expensive recesses. I now resolved to repair thither, and to summon my associates to a meeting.

Preparatory to this meeting, I summoned Artois, my partner in politics and pleasure, to this enchanted abode; and there renewed, with this Herculean lover, all those raptures which had so often made me almost expire with delight. I admitted sometimes the Duchess of Polignac to these luxurious parties; she then became an actress in every licentious scene; we three almost tired our invention in forming the most libidinous contrivances to add variety to our enjoyments. When enervated and exhausted by excess of amorous pleasures, we returned to our plot, and thus divided our time between politics and pleasure.

The cabal (as we called our confederacy) increased daily, and the moment of execution was near at hand; the only circumstance which retarded it was the implicit confidence reposed in his minister Neckar, by the king, whom, therefore, we were determined to remove.

To me the worthy Archbishop of Paris appeared a proper instrument for enforcing a measure so highly detrimental to the national interest, for which reason we deemed it prudent to encourage his hopes, and to flatter his ambition; and when we had wound him up to the wished-for pitch, I undertook to communicate our designs to him.

"What!" said I, "is it not a shameful thing that we should suffer a man to remain at the head of affairs,

fairs, who contrives to impede every operation of government. Assist us with your good offices ; your profession supplies you with arms ; you have only to make a proper use of them. Rid us of this monster, who exerts a despotic sway, and would fain destroy us ; you are the only person to attempt it, by exerting that ascendancy which the king's weakness of mind has given you over him. This you know is truth ; employ, therefore, in our service, that imposing air of gravity by which you are distinguished, and in return rely on our protection and favour."

The prelate obeyed, and hastening to the king, represented to him the ill consequence of having an *heretic* in his service. The king's conscience took the alarm, his fears were rouzed, and the artful primate, aware of the situation of his mind, improved the advantage, and at length succeeded so far as to procure an order for the minister's dismission ; who was ordered to quit France in twenty-four hours.

Our next care was to remove all the other members of administration who were hostile to our views. For this purpose we had recourse to the lowest intrigues, and soon had the satisfaction to see the monarch surrounded by atheists, cheats, and traitors.

The infamous Breteuil again entered into office, in conjunction with the worthless Marshal Broglio, who was appointed commander in chief of our troops ; Barentin was also the colleague of these ministers—thus every thing succeeded to our wishes.

I had the less reason to dread a disappointment, as the king was less attentive to public affairs than ever. Foulon had assured him, that during his administration, the people must be happy ; and Berthier, his son-in-law, answered for the tranquillity of the Parisians in particular, and for the felicity of the nation in general.

Every thing being prepared, Polignac and myself already enjoyed, by anticipation, the fruits of our labours ;

hours ; and my dear count, beheld, with delight, the honours that were prepared for him : the emperor too, sighed for the arrival of the happy moment which he had so long and so earnestly desired. The Prince of Lambesc, with difficulty could restrain the ardor of the troops, who waited with impatience the signal for destruction.

At length the moment arrived, when those impudent censors of my private transactions were to meet the punishment we had meditated. The night, preceding the intended execution of the plot, I enjoyed all the charms of hope, and was tasting all its delights in the arms of Artois and Polignac, when the imprudence of Lambesc impeded the progress of the plan. That prince, equally cruel though less politic than us, struck the first blow, and by that means prevented our success. On his account I am condemned to eternal shame and ignominy, unless my happier stars should once again prevail, and rescue me from destruction.

On the signal of alarm, we were astonished to find the Parisians had fled to arms, repulsed the troops, demolished the Bastile, and massacred its governor. Thus, in one fatal morn, were the hopes of years demolished. Artois was forced to fly ; at parting he embraced me weeping, and I charged him with my best wishes for my brother. Thus, in one sad hour, I lost all lovers, favourites,—in short all that was dear to me on earth. The king was compelled to repair to the capital ; where he was received with every demonstration of respect for his own sacred person, and with every mark of execration against the partner of his bed and throne.

The Countess of Artois reproached me with the ruin of her husband ; I wept, indeed ; but it was for rage and disappointment. Neckar was recalled ; but I grieved not at his return—no ; being in my power, I thought I should soon be able more effectually to dismiss him. I now played the hypocrite with suc-

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cess, and exerted every art of duplicity; I wrote to the simple Parisians, and endeavoured to palliate my conduct, by ascribing it to evil advice and youthful imprudence.

In return for these mortifications, I found means to insult the people, by making them spectators of the sumptuous decorations of that asylum (the palace of Saint Cloud, in which their ruin had often been meditated) by permitting them to range over those elegant apartments, embellished by the hands of libertinism and luxury; by suffering them to contemplate those voluptuous beds in which the Count of Artois had exerted his abilities in begetting heirs for the nation.

The Parisians flocked thither in crowds; and on viewing the magnificent furniture, the fruits of my rapaciousness, they were struck dumb with grief, and the tears flowed from their eyes.

I wait, in patient tranquillity, to see what will be the issue of all this; if I am not deceived, it may still prove favourable to my wishes; the only means of promoting the national good are expelled the nation. The states, which have been convened for the purpose of rectifying abuses, may continue to sit, and to publish, with affected consequence, the stupid accounts of their more stupid operations.—O! ye inhabitants of France, ye are destined to be fed with *words* instead of bread—or if ye have bread, it will prove the bread of sorrow!

FINIS.

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